HISTORY
OF THE MARONITE CHURCH

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by

THE MOST REVEREND PIERRE DIB

Bishop of Cairo

Translated by

VERY REVEREND SEELY BEGGIANI, S.T.D.

Rector, Maronite Seminary

Washington, D.C.

This translation is respectfully dedicated to
the Most Reverend Francis Zayek, S. T. D., J. C. D.
Maronite Apostolic Exarch — U. S. A.

FOREWORD

Dear Reader:

It is with pleasure that I present to you and the American public this Maronite Church History, which is published for the first time in English. "L'Histoire de l'Eglise Maronite" was written in French by Peter Dib, the late Maronite Bishop of Cairo, Egypt, and published in 1962 under the auspices of the Most Reverend Ignatius Ziade, Maronite Archbishop of Beirut.

Since the Second Vatican Council, interest in the Eastern Churches has been increasing everywhere. The present translation will enable the Eastern Aramaic Church, represented by the Maronite Rite, to be even more widely known to English-speaking peoples. This Eastern group, of which the Maronites are an integral and important part, continues to represent within the Church a special theology, liturgy and spirituality which preceded the Hellenization and Latinization of the Church. This tradition has been beautifully expressed by the Syriac Fathers, including the great St. Ephrem.

The Maronite Church is Antiochian and, as such, traces its origin to the time of the Apostles, reflects their ways of thinking and expressing themselves and uses Aramaic, the language of our Lord, in its liturgy. The History of the Maronite Church will acquaint you with a Christian community which has struggled to keep the Catholic faith since the time of St. Maron († 410), its founder and patron.

The erection of St. Maron's Monastery and the institution of the Maronite Church in the 5th century were mainly due to the defense of the "Dogma of the Incarnate Word," which was defined in the Council of Chalcedon (451).

Presently, the Maronites are scattered all over the world, with more than 150,000 in the United States.

From childhood, Bishop Peter Dib, the author, never ceased to live intensely by the spirit and traditions of his Maronite Church. In Lebanon as a priest, in France as a scholar and professor, and in travels to many countries of Europe and the Middle East, he visited libraries and studied until late hours at night. His only goal was to serve his Rite and perpetuate the glorious history of the Maronite Antiochian Church. In 1946, the Holy Father created the Maronite Diocese of Egypt and appointed Bishop Peter Dib its first Ordinary and a member of the Patriarchal Commission.

It is, therefore, with deep gratitude that I dedicate this English Edition of Maronite Church History to the blessed memory of Bishop Peter Dib, who was my Ordinary for many years in Cairo.

The Maronites and I are also grateful to Archbishop Ignatius Ziade for supervising the French publication of 1962 and for graciously agreeing to supervise this English translation and publication.

Very Rev. Seely Beggiani, Rector of the Maronite Seminary in Washington, D.C., and Professor of Graduate Studies in Religion at Catholic University of America, also deserves our sincere thanks for this translation.

✠ Bishop FRANCIS M. ZAYEK, S.T.D., J.C.D.
Maronite Apostolic Exarch, U.S.A.

PREFACE

We have published in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (vol. X, col. 1-142) a history of the Maronite Church. We have since prepared an edition of the above work which has been revised and enlarged, and especially, completed with new documents. Two volumes have been published by Letouzey et Ané: the first appeared in Paris and deals with the origins up to the Middle Ages; and the second, published at Beyrouth, treats the civil history of the Maronites under the Ottomans (1516-1918). It remains for us to publish the religious history of this period. In the meantime, we have been urged to re-publish in a single volume the article which appeared in the *Dictionnaire* in order to give a brief view of the Maronite Church, which has written glorious pages in the history of the Church and, notably, in the history of the movement for Christian unity in the East.

We have tried to draw an accurate picture of the Maronite people throughout the centuries, and particularly, at their origins, and to show their unalterable attachment to the Holy See. Yet, we have presented nothing without proof. We have re-enacted events in their historical setting, reconciled and brought facts together, and compared documents in order to separate truth from falsity. It is easy to isolate texts and to detach a phrase from its context in order to falsify the sense or distort the meaning. In studies which concern the orthodoxy of the Maronites, it is necessary to guard against supporting conclusions on simple elements of detail. It is only the totality of documents which have been compared and evaluated which can cast sufficient light and allow us to draw a proper conclusion.

In our work, we have studied successively the origins and expansion of the Maronite people from the fifth to the twelfth

century, their relations with the West and their historical evolution under the Crusaders and the Mamlukes from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, their civil and religious life under Ottoman domination from the sixteenth to the twentieth century, and finally, their present ecclesiastical organization.

INTRODUCTION

A preliminary look at the political and religious situation of Syria in the early years of the Maronite Church will help us to understand better the sequence of events presented in the present work.

Under the early Roman Empire, power was shared by the Senate and the ruler. It was a sort of diarchy, but predominance belonged to the imperial power. We speak of imperial provinces and senatorial provinces. In the later Empire, the emperor became a veritable monarch with absolute power. (The later Empire began with Diocletian at the end of the third century. This Empire fell in the West at the end of the fifth century. In the East, it remained up to 1453 when it was destroyed by the Turks. After Justinian, [527-565], one refers to it as the Byzantine Empire.)

In the later Empire, the powers were reorganized. After having divided the Roman world into two parts, the Empire of the East and the Empire of the West, Diocletian took as his associate in supreme power an officer that he greatly valued, Maximian, and allowed him to partake of the title of Augustus. Seven years later, in 293, the two emperors each adopted an heir apparent under the name of Caesar and invested him with a portion of their authority.

The administrative framework underwent a parallel modification: the senatorial provinces became imperial, that is, they were taken up directly by the emperor who administered them with governors but, to diminish the power of the governors, Diocletian multiplied the provinces by dividing them. Before, there had been 60 provinces; after his division there were 96.

This division threatened to weaken imperial dignity and to cripple central authority. To avert this danger, the provinces were grouped together. While a governor remained at the head of each province, the provinces were combined into dioceses headed by higher officials. To draw lines of supreme power closer distant administrators, intermediary agents were established between imperial authority and the heads appointed to run the dioceses: each of the Augustuses and Caesars had attached to him a prefect of the Praetorium on whom depended the heads of the dioceses who bore the title of vicar. The structure opened the way to grouping the dioceses into prefectures, which was realized under Constantine. At any given moment, the number of perfectures was four: East, Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul.

The prefecture of the East comprised the following four dioceses: the East, Pontus, Asia, and Thrace, with their respective capitals at Antioch, Caesarea, Ephesus, and Heraclius. The province of Egypt acquired its independence only under Theodosius the Great.

The civil divisions of the Empire contributed greatly, in many places, to delineating ecclesiastical jurisdictions. The diocese of the East corresponded to the Patriarchate of Antioch. This explains the title of Patriarch of Antioch and All the East.

The episcopal lists of the First Council of Nicaea (Cf. Gelzer-Hilgenfeld-Cuntz, *Patrum Nicaenorum Nomina,* 1898) indicate that in 325 the diocese of Antioch encompassed eight provinces: Palestine, Phoenicia, Syria, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Cilicia, Isauria, and Cyprus. As for the number of bishops, it is impossible to arrive at a fixed number for this period. An attempt at determining the number from the signatures at the First Council of Nicaea, made by Gelzer-Hilgenfeld-Cuntz gives 96 for the eight provinces. But all the bishops did not necessarily attend the Council. One is able to say without too much error that the number of sees comprised by Antioch was close to a hundred.

Following the new administrative modifications, the number of provinces was increased again. Syria, which had

been divided under Septimus Severus (193-211) into Syria Magna and Phoenicia — a partition that existed until 325 — underwent other dismemberments in the sixth century. Syria Magna was subdivided into three provinces: Syria I (capital-Antioch), Syria II (capital-Apameus), and Syria III called Euphrates (capital-Hierapolis); Phoenicia was divided into Maritime Phoenicia (capital-Tyre) and Lebanese Phoenicia (capital-Damascus).

The cradle and center of the Maronite Church was in Syria II. The area extended in the south to the vicinity of Homs and included many fairly important towns such as Epiphaneus (Hama), Arethusa, Balaneus, Raphaneus, and Seleucobelos.

From this region, the Maronites spread to other provinces. Unfortunately, wars and invasions hindered and limited their expansion. The Persians and Arabs wanted to get their hands on this territory, often contending with the Byzantines during the sixth and seventh centuries. Complete and definitive victory was gained by the Arabs under the Calif Omar in 640.

Among the first governors of Syria we should mention Mo'awiah, who was named to this post by Omar in 639. Mo'awiah, endowed with a remarkable political genius, would later install the center of government in this country and institute an order of succession to the throne. After his elevation to the caliphate in 660, he established his capital at Damascus and founded the Ommayyad dynasty — the first of the Moslem dynasties — named after Ommayya, an ancestor of the family.

In general the Ommayyads showed themselves tolerant regarding Christians, and the dispositions of the first califs were, in sum, rather liberal. However it was a question of the tolerance of victors toward the vanquished. For the latter, life was humiliating and necessarily precarious, being at the mercy of outbursts of fanaticism.

The Ommayyads remained in power up to 750. At that time, the last ruler, Marwan II, was defeated at the battle

of Zab, a tributary of the Tigris, and took refuge in Egypt where he died in August of the same year. With him the Ommayad dynasty ended, except in Spain, and gave way to the Abbasids, descendants of Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet.

Of Iranian origin, the new rulers reduced Syria to a simple province "held under the yoke," and transferred the capital of Islam to Baghdad. They manifested, from a religious point of view, a declared and indeed passionate intolerance. But, they did not know how to preserve the unity of their Empire. Alongside of them, many local dynasties arose. In the tenth and eleventh centuries we have the arrival of the Fatimids, who claimed descent from Mohammed by his daugher Fatima.

All these divisions and battles among dynasties prepared the terrain for the arrival of the Crusades. We shall see how the latter established themselves in Syria and how they were, in their turn, driven out by the Mamlukes.

Invasions and wars were not the only scourges that Syria suffered during the epoch of the founding of the Maronite Church. In cruel fashion she also underwent religious quarrels.

In the fifth century Christological discussions afflicted the Church of the East in a profound manner. If the Savior is both God and man, how conceive the relationship which unites His divine and human natures? Two views appeared. The School of Antioch accentuated the difference between the two elements. Alexandria, on the other hand, insisted on union. Due to excessive language, the theologians of the capital of the East opened the way to Nestorianism which claimed two independent persons in Christ, that of the Word and that of the Son of Mary, united with each other by a moral and permanent bond.

By way of reaction, the Alexandrian School exaggerated the union of the human and divine element, and this gave rise to Monophysitism.

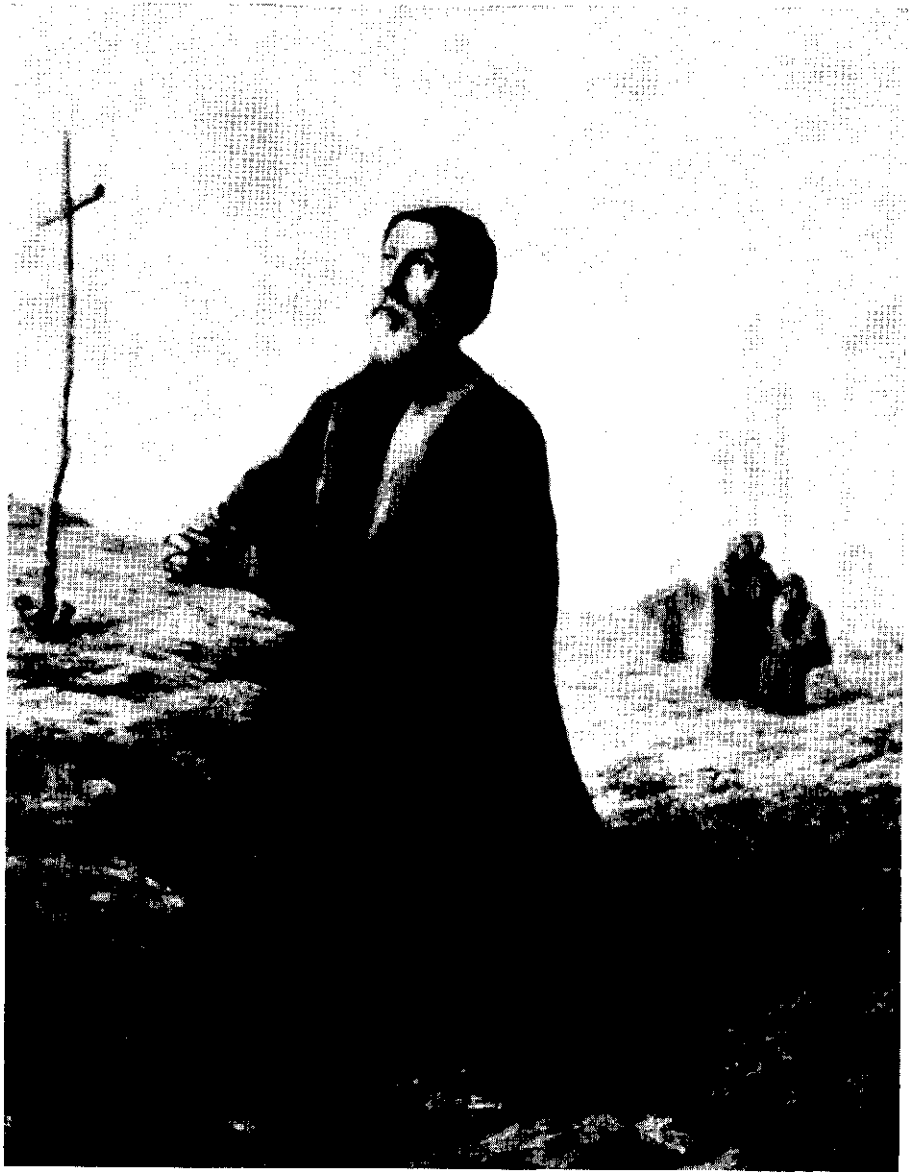
In 431, the Council of Ephesus condemned Nestorius, and in 451, the fathers of Chalcedon proclaimed the dogma

of the union in one Person or hypostasis of the two distinct natures of the Incarnate Son.

If the conciliar definitions re-established orthodoxy, they did not lead to peace. Agitation increased in the midst of the Church and in the Byzantine Empire. It brought about autonomous ecclesiastical jurisdictions which have lasted to the present. The Nestorians, hounded by imperial power, found refuge in Persia, where the Nestorian Church was established.

As for Monophysitism, it led to the formation of the following three groups: Copts and Ethiopians, Gregorian Armenians, and anti-Chalcedonian Syrians. The last group interests us especially. The fierce struggle that they put up against the Council of Chalcedon led to their erecting in the sixth century, alongside the official Church of Antioch, i.e. the Church recognized by the Byzantine government, the Jacobite hierarchy, named after their principal organizer, Jacob Baradai.

Following the formation of this new Church, the struggle increased in violence. To disarm the opposition and rally the Monophysite communities to a formula of conciliation, Constantinople proposed a sort of compromise: rather than speak of one or two natures, it advocated one energy (i.e. activity) in Christ.. A new element was interjected. By this formula, it was hoped that the Monophysites would be satisfied without appearing to sacrifice the Council of Chalcedon. But, instead of leading to peace, the new doctrine became that of Monothelitism (one will) and aroused even more long and painful debates in the Church. The Sixth Council, held in 680-81, condemned the heresy and proclaimed the dogma of the two wills and two operations in the God-man.



ST. MARON

Painting by Philip Mourani
(Maronite Cathedral of St. George, Beirut)

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PART I

THE BIRTH AND EXPANSION OF THE MARONITE CHURCH IN SYRIA AND HER ESTABLISHMENT IN LEBANON FROM THE 5th TO THE 10th CENTURY

CHAPTER ONE

SAINT MARON AND THE ORIGIN OF THE MARONITE CHURCH

A holy anchorite named Maron lived from the fourth to the fifth century on a mountain situated, it seems, in the region of Apameus in Syria Second.

He lived in the open air, according to Theodoret (d. ca. 458), near a pagan temple which he had converted into a church. His life was one of penance and prayer. He took refuge at rare times under a tent made of skins, in order to avoid the very bad weather (1).

Maron, says Theodoret, soon became known throughout the whole countryside. The austerity of his life and his gift of miracles, with which he was privileged, made him one of the great celebrities of that period. Crowds invaded his place of solitude. Men and women went to seek his prayers or partake in his discipline (2).

Theodoret, who had known a good number of his disciples, described the life of some of them, such as Saint James the Hermit, Saint Limneus and Saint Domina (3). He tells us that many of the hermits of the region of Cyr were taught by Maron (4).

It appears from the description of Theodoret that Saint Maron was a priest. For example, Theodoret cites that Maron consecrated a place of worship of God and blessed the sick. These expressions in ecclesiastical language apply ordinarily to persons who are priests. Besides, a letter written by Saint John Chrysostom from his exile in Cucuse in Armenia in 405, is addressed to "Maron, priest and hermit," and confirms the conclusion drawn from this passage of Theodoret.

There does not seem to be any other anchorite to whom John Chrysostom would have written to ask about and to recommend himself to his prayers.

For Saint Maron was gifted with unusual ability which made him a great director of souls (5).

When Saint Maron died, his remains were transported to a neighboring place, where a church was built and dedicated to his memory (6).

Theodoret, the only biographer of Maron, tells us nothing about the date of Maron's death. It is placed at 410. Theodoret became Bishop of Cyr in 423 and was already Bishop of this city when he wrote the biography of Saint Maron. On the other hand, Chrysostom wrote to Saint Maron in 405. So, if, as the Bishop of Cyr tells us that a large church was built named for Saint Maron (7), it is necessary to suppose there was an interval of some years between his death and the construction of this Church. Therefore, it would not be too far from accurate to place the death of Saint Maron in the year we have indicated above.

The disciples who had united around Maron formed the first nucleus of the Maronite Church. They founded a monastery dedicated to his memory, which was known as the Monastery of Saint Maron. It was situated near Apameus (Qal'at al-Modiq), the chief place of Syria II, in the valley of the Orontes (8).

The monastery was situated near the church built in honor of the Saint. Otherwise, it would be difficult to explain why nothing is said sooner about the church which, according to Theodoret, had become a place of pilgrimage (9). If, on the contrary, we consider the church as joined to the monastery, the documents speaking about the latter would have no need to make special mention of the church.

According to the Arab historian of the 10th century, Mas'oudi, the Monastery of Saint Maron was a large edifice surrounded by 300 cells, and possessing objects of gold, silver, and very precious stones (10). It was from there that the Maronite monks spread out in all directions. Historical

documents tell us that this monastery was already fully active in the first years of the sixth century. A report addressed to Pope Hormisdas in 517, by the monks of Syria II is signed first by Alexander, Archmandrite of Saint Maron (11). This report tells us of the violence of the persecution unleashed against them by the Monophysites. It also indicates the importance of the community since 350 monks were massacred and various monasteries were burned. Also, the fact that Alexander signed first shows the pre-eminence of his monastery over the others. The pope responded to this report on February 10, 518 (12).

These same monks also wrote to the bishops of Syria II of the bloody persecution they were undergoing for the sake of the faith. Here again, Alexander, Archmandrite of Saint Maron, is the first to sign among the archimandrites of the other monasteries in the region of Apameus (13).

At the Counicl of Constantinople held in 536 under the Patriarch Menas, the Monastery of Saint Maron was represented by the monk and apocrisary Paul. He signed before the other monks of Syria II (14), and, in the proceedings of the sessions, his name precedes the others constantly (15). Furthermore, in certain places his signature informs us expressly of the rank he and his monastery occupy: "Paul... apocrisary of the monastery of the Blessed Maron, the monastery which governs the holy monasteries of Syria II" (16).

The Monastery of Saint Maron was therefore at the head of the monasteries of the province, the "exarch" of the monasteries of Syria II, just as Saint Dalmatius was in regard to those of Constantinople. The term "exarch" refers to the head of a monastic federation (17). Also, in the doctrinal controversies, the representative of the Monastery of Saint Maron speak in the name of the orthodox party of their region. For example, we can cite two letters written towards the end of the sixth century, one by the Maronites to the Jacobites, the other by the Jacobites to the Maronites. (These letters are preserved in the British Museum.) (18).

The monks of the monasteries of Syria II formed a monastic body under the direction of the Maronite monastery.

They can be called the disciples of Saint Maron. That is why the Maronite Church venerates July 31 as the feast of the 350 monks massacred by the Monophysites and of whom we will speak below. This tradition of the Maronite Church is not invalidated by the Greek words which appear in the signatures of the monks in the letters cited above. During this period Greek was the official language of the Maronite monks (19). Morever, the representatives of the monastery themselves bore Greek titles.

Thanks to these documents, we are able to establish the time of the foundation of this monastery. We should place the date in the fifth century, some years after the building of the church dedicated to Saint Maron. The prestige of its monks and the rank it held among the monasteries of the region could not be attributed to a monastery of a later date. Besides, the Arab historian Abou'l-Fida (d. 1331), says that the Emperor Marcian expanded the monastery in the second year of his reign, that is, in 452 (20). A Byzantine historian, Procopius of Caserea, informs us that Justinian the Great restored its walls, no doubt torn down by the Monophysites (21).

The Monastery of Saint Maron was a source of edification for the whole area as is witnessed by an anecdote that one finds in Nau, *Opuscules mar.*, II part., p. 20-25. Its renown gave considerable prestige to the monks, and they, noted for their knowledge and their virtue, attracted many faithful, who came to them from all directions. This popularity displeased not only the enemies of orthodoxy, but even Christians. Sooner or later, the monastery was bound to be destroyed.

When was the monastery destroyed? We do not have the documents citing a precise date. Nevertheless, its ruin could not have been before the tenth century. According to a note added to Fol.126^{b} of a Syriac manuscript of the British Museum written in the year 581, the Monastery of Saint Maron still existed in the middle of the eight century. This note tells us that this manuscript came into the library of Saint Maron's in the year 745 (cf. W. Wright, *Catalogue of*

Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum, pp. 450-454). Furthermore the monastery was still fully active towards the end of that same century, as can be seen from a letter written to its monks in 791 by the Nestorian patriarch, Timotheus I. (This letter is preserved in the Chaldean monastery of Saint Hormisdas near Algosch in the Diocese of Mossoul. A copy is to be found in the Vatican, and is cited by Clement J. David) (22). The monastery was still flourishing at the time of Tell-Mahré, Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch (d. 845), since, during this period, the Maronite bishops were still chosen from among the monks. "They (the Maronites) ordain a patriarch and bishops from their monastery" (23). But the monastery was destroyed before the middle of the tenth century. The Arab historian Mas'oudi (d. 956) tells us that it "was destroyed, as well as the cells which surrounded it, due to repeated incursions by the Arabs, and the violence of the Sultan" (24). Which Sultan? Certainly a contemporary of Mas'oudi known to everyone. By using the definite article, Mas'oudi felt no further identification was necessary. Moreover, Mas'oudi appears to have been familiar with the monastery, because of the vivid description he gives of it. Furthermore, writers after Mas'oudi, in speaking of the monasteries of Syria, no longer mention that of Saint Maron.

All these indications therefore permit us to place the date of the destruction of the Monastery of Saint Maron, the cradle of the Maronite Church, in the first of half the tenth century. It was this Monastery of Saint Maron that gave its name to the Maronite people. The name Maronite was not only given to the monks but to the faithful who had put themselves under their direction.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LEGEND OF THE MONOPHYSITISM OF THE MARONITES

The monks of the Monastery of Saint Maron, as we have come to see, enjoyed a considerable prestige and moral authority. They took an effective part in the doctrinal discussions of the period and set the tone for a large body of opinion. The bloody struggle that they had waged against the Monophysites earned for them the honor of describing in the annals of their monastery, we have seen above, the number of monks massacred by the Monophysites. But the violence of the persecution did not weaken this valiant band of orthodoxy. A Syriac document dating to the end of the sixth century (contained in a manuscript in the British Museum, Add. 12,155, ms. written in the eighth century), shows us that the monks of Saint Maron were at the head of the orthodox party, and, in a conference held at Antioch, shortly after 591, argued with the followers of Peter of Callinicus, Jacobite Patriarch (d. 591). Following this conference, some letters were exchanged between the Maronite monks and the Jacobites, the Jacobites declaring that they "reject the vine of Leo," and the "plant of the vine of Chalcedon." F. Nau, who has published a French translation of these letters in the *Bulletin de l'Association de Saint-Louis des Maronites* (Paris, 1903, p. 348-50 and 367-81), writes the following: "We cite an unpublished Syriac manuscript of the eighth century, preserved at the British Musuem (Add. 12,555, fol. 163), which contains a letter of the monks of Beth Maron to the Jacobites with their response, and which shows the orthodoxy of the Maronite monks from the sixth to the seventh century. It speaks of their battle with the Jacobites and

the pre-eminence their monastery enjoyed then among the monastries of Syria II. According to this document, the monks of Saint Maron, who represented the orthodox party, the followers of the Council of Chalcedon and of Pope Saint Leo, had had a conference at Antioch with the followers of Peter of Callinicus, the Jacobite Patriarch from 578-91. The Jacobites were unable to make a response, even after a five-day delay that had been granted them. They had not responded any better to a letter that the monks of Saint Maron had sent them. The Maronites, Philip and Thomas, drafted a letter, whose translation we are going to give, and charged Isaac and Simon to take it to the Jacobites and to call upon their monks, lawyers and bishops to make a response to it or to deny their errors. The role of the Maronites in this affair and their tone towards the Jacobites show well that they were the heads of the orthodox party as they had already been recognized as the head of the monks of Syria II at the Council of Constantionple in 536. Theodore, of the Monastery of Beth Mar Abaz, made a long response to the Maronites; he told them that: 'we reject the vine of Leo' and the 'plant of the vine of Chalcedon.' He also accused *them* of using physical force against the Jacobites. All these insults are to the glory of the Maronites, for it is remarkable that this bloody enemy accused the Maronites of no dogmatic error" (25).

Therefore it is evident that up to the sixth century the orthodoxy of the Maronites "has been perpetual and uninterrupted" (26).

In the seventh century, the Maronites continued to defend the cause of orthodoxy with the same ardor. "When Chosroes, king of Persia," says Barhebreus, "had been killed by his son, Heraclius (Emperor of Constantinople) reconquered Syria and came to Edessa. The people, priests and monks went to meet him. Having admired and praised the great multitude of monks, Heraclius told his confidants: 'It is not necessary to alienate a people so worthy of praise.' On a Feastday, he came to the Church and gave gifts to all the people; (perhaps to bring them to adhere to the Council of Chalcedon). But, when, at the time of Communion in the

Liturgy, the Emperor approached the Holy Mysteries according to the custom of Christian kings, Isaias, Metropolitan of Edessa, in the ardor of his zeal, refused him communion saying: 'If you do not anathematize in writing the Council of Chalcedon, I will not allow you to touch the Mysteries.' Irritated, the Emperor chased Isaias out of the Church and turned him over to the Chalcedonians.... When the Emperor went to Mabboug (Hierapolis), he was approached by Patriarch Mar Athanasius and twelve bishops, from whom he asked a declaration of faith which they gave to him. After having read it, the Emperor spoke to them with praise. But he pressed them hard to accept the Council of Chalcedon. Since they would not consent, Heraclius was irritated and sent out a decree to the whole Empire: 'Anyone who will not adhere (to the Council), will have his nose and ears cut off and his house pillaged.' And so, many converted. The monks of Beth Maron (Maronites), of Mabboug and of Emese showed their wickedness and pillaged a number of churches and monasteries. Our people complained to Heraclius, who did not answer them. This is why, the God of vengeance has delivered us though the Arabs from the hands of the Romans. Our churches, it is true, were not restored to us, the conquering Arabs allowed to each sect what they found in its possession. But it is not just a slight advantage for us to be freed from the wickedness of the Romans and their cruel hate towards us" (27).

The account of the Jacobite Barhebreus (d. 1286) is borrowed from the *Annales* of Denis of Tell-Mahré, Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch (818-45). These *Annales* are lost today, but are preserved in great part in the chronicle of Denis' successor, Michael the Syrian or the Great (1166-1199) (28).

The Jacobites welcomed with some congeniality the Arabs who had conquered Syria between 634-36. They regarded them as liberators of their Church. In fact, seeing in the Monophysites enemies of the Byzantine court, the new rulers heaped kindnesses on them. The Maronites however continued to combat Monophysitism, and to represent, without failing, the orthodox party. A Maronite chronicle

of the end of the seventh century retraces for us the debates which took place in 658-59. The chronicle deals with a debate which took place in the presence of the future calif Mo'awiah, then governor of Syria, in 658-59, between the Jacobite bishops Theodore (Patriarch of Antioch 649-67) and Sobocht (Bishop of Kennesrin) on the one side, and the Maronites on the other (F. Nau, *Opuscules Maronites*, 1st part, p. 36 of the Syriac text, and the 2nd part, p. 6 of the translation) (29).

Therefore, after as before Arab domination, the Maronites never ceased to be and to show themselves on every occasion the unabating enemies of the Monophysite doctrine. The Jacobites always considered them implacable adversaries of their Church. In support of this affirmation, we can cite two Jacobite writers: Habib Abou-Raita, Metropolitan of Tagrit (eleventh century), and the celebrated Barhebreus. The Metropolitan of Tagrit made a clear distinction between the Maronites and the Monophysites; he called the former Chalcedonians, attached to the blasphemy of the Council of Chalcedon (30). As for Barhebreus (d. 1286), he showed that a difference of profession between Maronites and Jacobites existed even in his time. Regarding Theophile of Edessa (d. 785), Barhebreus wrote: "In this time (under the Abbassid Calif al-Mahdi, 775-85), Theophile, son of Thomas of Edessa, gained renown. He was a consummate astronomer; but he partook of the 'heresy of the Maronites.' Theophile wrote in Syriac a remarkable chronicle, although he calumniated and insulted the orthodox (i.e. the Monophysites)" (31). The language of Barhebreus shows clearly, that the Maronites were not followers of the Monophysite doctrine of his Church any more in the thirteenth century then they were in the eight or ninth century. In his eyes, they were the heterodox, that is, the dyphysites or Chalcedonians.

Therefore, it would be a grave injustice to accuse the Maronites of Monophysitism or to pretend that, before the terrible threats of Heraclius, they had accepted only in appearance the Council of Chalcedon (32).

The arguments gathered in support of a Maronite Monophysitism are so opposed to the certain data of history

that the Syrian patriarch of Antioch, Ignatius Ephrem II Rahmani, and Reverend P. Vailhé do not take it into consideration. These two experts could not be accused of being favorable to the cause of the perpetual orthodoxy of the Maronites. "The Syro-maronites," says Patriarch Rahmani, "formed one branch of the Syrian Church of Antioch. They were known for their attachment to the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon and to the Letter of Pope Leo, which contained the orthodox doctrine regarding the two natures of Our Lord in the unity of one Person and which is known as the *Tome*" (33). P. Vailhé states: "One has never accused, or at least, one has never tried to accuse the monks of the Monastery of Saint Maron for having attacked *directly* the doctrine defined by the Council of Chalcedon. I underscore the word directly, for it is undeniable that, indirectly, Monothelitism undermines the doctrine of the two natures. Nor is one able to accuse them any more of being Monothelites in the sixth century, for the first seeds of this heresy — insofar as it is distinguished from Monophysitism — were sown for the first time towards the year 616... If the Maronites accepted the doctrine of Chalcedon and were in accord with the the imperial power of Constantinople towards the end of the sixth century, it would be the same 30 or 40 years later during the long sojourn of Heraclius in Syria" (34).

From all that precedes, one is able to conclude that the Monophysitism of the Maronites is pure legend, and that the continuity of their orthodoxy up to the beginning of the seventh century is recognized by all the historians of our time. But this accord ceases in the Monothelite matter.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ALLEGED MONOTHELITISM OF THE MARONITES

A certain number of writers have attributed the founding of the Maronite Church, in addition to the two other churches in Syria, the official Church and the Jacobite Church, to Monothelitism.

This issue has been raised notably since the seventeenth century in frequent and bitter polemics.

The majority of historians, for or against the perpetual orthodoxy of the Maronites, have simply addressed themselves to reconciling the ancient to the modern texts in order to establish or to weaken the case, without always determining authenticity. They have utilized false and interpolated documents and ignored others whose authenticity is incontestable.

Another method has consisted in trying to reconcile the texts in order to safeguard the orthodoxy of the Maronites, by attributing to them an understanding of Monothelitism in a moral sense, and therefore other than what was condemned by the Church. The first to propose this explanation, to the best of our knowledge, was the Maronite scholar of the seventeenth century, Faustus of Naironus (35). Patriarch Douaihi (d. 1704) adopted this explanation in interpreting certain ancient texts (36). Recently, a Maronite archbishop, Joseph Darian (d. 1920), has accepted the idea of a moral Monothelitism of the Maronites and has written a work in Arabic with the title: *The Substance of the Proofs Concerning the Situation of the Maronite People, from the Beginning in the Fifth Century to the Thirteenth Century* (Cairo, 1912).

The theory declared by Naironus and Douaihi and developed by Archbishop Darian is not without foundation. But, in order to present it, it is necessary to consider all the aspects of the problem. It is especially necessary to outline the circumstances of time and place, the milieu in which the Maronite Church was formed, how she took consciousness of herself, and what she saw as her destiny. To neglect these circumstances or to underestimate them would be to expose oneself to understanding nothing of Maronite history, and especially to knowing poorly Maronite religious thought. We shall strive to clarify the essential points of this debated question, without getting bogged down in useless detail.

First of all, one is able to say that the discussion concerning the existence of two wills in Christ did not reach Syria before the year 727, more than a century after the appearance of monothelitism in the Byzantine territory. The first seeds of this teaching appeared about 616 in the negotiations of Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, with Theodore, Bishop of Pharan, and with others (37).

Our reasons for these conclusions are as follows:

1. One must be aware of the situation in Syria in the first years of the seventh century. It had become a theater of war and of all kinds of difficulties. On the borders were the attacks of the Persians; within, were pillaging and killing. The Patriarch Anastasius II himself was not spared and died, leaving the See of the East unoccupied (38). Only the Patriarch of Antioch remained, the Jacobite Athanasius. The Persians provided a certain protection since the Jacobites had no common cause with Constantinople.

The campaigns of 622-28, crowned by the victory of Heraclius over Chosroes, changed the situation; Byzantine authority was re-established. Barhebreus tells us how, after this decisive victory, Heraclius, *without speaking of the one or two wills in Christ*, tried at Edessa and at Mabboug to have the Monophysites accept the Council of Chalcedon. (We have seen this above.)

2. At the debate held in 658-59 before the future Calif Mo'awiah, at Damascus, there was no question of the energies or wills in Christ. If the Maronites had admitted to or professed Monothelitism, it would have been easy for the Jacobites to take advantage of them — the physical unity of two wills leading, by logical consequence, to a unity of natures. Also the adversaries of the Maronites would not have failed to use this conclusion when the discussion of Monothelitism was raised in Syria (39).

3. The examination of the priest Constantine of Apameus, held at the Sixth Ecumenical Council, reinforces our conclusions (Cf. Mansi, op. cit., t. XI, col. 618-19). It appears from the long examination that the priest of Apameus, speaking in his own name, sought to find a ground for conciliation, for uniting the various groups which divided the Church. He admitted freely that before His death Christ had possessed two wills, but he said that He lost on the cross, together with His flesh and blood, His human will. This last point the priest Constantine had learned from Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, who, in residence in a monastery in Constantinople, had never set foot in Syria. Nevertheless, it ought to be noted that the priest Constantine did not claim for his Monothelitism the authority of the religious leaders of the region of Apameus, the center of activity of the Maronite monks, but the authority of Macarius.

Furthermore, if the Fathers of the Council had known of any Monothelite preaching in Syria, they would not have neglected to ask Constantine for some information on this matter. This silence on a question which agitated the Church and the Empire is highly significant.

4. The councils assembled during the seventh century on the Monothelite question make no allusion to the existence of such a doctrine in Syria. How is one to explain the behavior of the Fathers of these councils if such a new doctrine had spread to Syria? This attitude would be more understandable had the bishops at Chalcedon given any exception to the condemnation of schism or heresy. For example, in the sixteenth session of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, George,

Patriarch of Constantinople, asked the assembly to pass over in silence in their anathemas, the names of his predecessors, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul and Peter, but was overruled by the majority and the Council condemned these men by name.

5. Finally, we have, in the *Annales* of Denis of Tell-Mahré, a passage which tells us precisely by whom and in what period the Monothelite question had penetrated into Syria: "Although we have already spoken," he says, "of the heresy of Maximus (Maximus the Confessor)and of the manner in which Constantinus (Constantine Pogonatus) introduced it in the churches of the Romans, after it had been wiped out by his father, Constant, we ought now to take note of the schism which survived among them (the Chalcedonians) in this year 727 regarding this heresy and the expression *who has been crucified.* In the Roman territory, this opinion continues since the time of Constantinus, *but in the regions of Syria, it was not admitted. It is being sown now by prisoners and captives and captives that the troops of Taiyaye (Arabs) have led into and placed in Syria.* No doubt, because of their esteem of the Empire of the Romans, those who have allowed themselves to be perverted by this opinion (Dythelitism) and accepted it were especially the bishops and the chiefs. One of them was Sergius, son of Mansour, who oppressed many of the faithful who were at Damascus and Emese. Not only did he make them remove the expression *who was crucified* from the Trisagion, but he drew also many of ours into his heresy. This heresy perverted also the Sees of Jerusalem Antioch, Edessa and other towns, that the Chalcedonians had occupied since the time of Emperor Heraclius" (40).

The importance of this testimony has not escaped anyone — the author of the *Annales* having been involved very closely in the religious affairs of Syria at a period quite close to these events. Denis, born in the second half of the eighth century at Tell-Mahré, a village situated on the Balikh (a tributary of the Euphrates), not far from Callinicus, studied a few kilometers from Aleppo at the Monastery of Qennesrin which was a center of culture. Raised to the patriarchate

in 818, Denis governed the Jacobite Church up to his death on August 22, 845 (41). Therefore, one has no reason to doubt his authority on these things, nor would he have any desire to exaggerate.

All of these documents taken together lead to this conclusion: In the seventh century, the Monothelite question was not raised in Syria. Overwhelmed on all sides by Arab invasions, its communication cut off from the rest of Christendom, this region remained apart from the Christological discussions of Constantinople. People remained as they were before the Arab invasions — Chalcedonian or Jacobite, not at all concerned with Monothelitism or Dythelitism. It is in 727 that the Dythelite controversy was brought in by prisoners of the Arabs (42).

These are the facts. It remains to be seen how this discussion was understood and received by the Maronites. It is again Patriarch Denis of Tell-Mahré who informs us. In the passage we have cited above, he adds: "*The monks of Beth Maron* (Maronites) and the bishop of this Monastery, and some others, did not accept this opinion (the two wills), but the majority of the people and their bishops did. How many anathemas (were delivered), how many fights up to the present can not be enumerated nor reckoned. In the discussions, *the Chalcedonians of the party of Beth Maron* insulted the *Maximites* (followers of the doctrine of Maximus the Confessor): "You are Nestorians, the companions of the pagans and the Jews. You do not say that Christ is God, that He was born of the Virgin, that He suffered and was crucified in the flesh, but that He is an ordinary man, an individual person, abandoned by God, who feared and dreaded His death and cried: 'My Father! If it be possible, would that the chalice pass from Me, nevertheless your will and not mine be done,' *as if one and another were the wills of the Father and the Son; that is, there would therefore be in Christ two wills separated and opposed, or even enemies, and battle one against the other*" (43).

In order to understand the situation of the Maronites at this time, it is necessary to consider the previous centuries in order to catch the spirit of their thought. In this period

religious battles had reached a culmination of irreducible hostility between the various Christian denominations within the Patriarchate of Antioch. Chalcedonians, Nestorians and Jacobites formed three rival Churches; they were well organized for the defense of their respective ideas. The followers of two natures in Christ, standing in the middle between the other two groups, were always afraid to go too far, even to excessive language. Also, a certain number of *them* abhorred all new doctrine, even of pure form and simple expression. The Sixth Ecumenical Council had not been able to be promulgated in Syria; they lived according to the first five Councils. They clung to the doctrine of Chalcedon and did not wish to know anything else. Meanwhile, prisoners, not possessing any hierarchal authority, arrived in Syria and began to speak of the dogma of two wills. This added more fuel to the fire. The Maronites, accustomed to only one phraseology, saw in their teaching a dualism in Christ. For them, this was Nestorianism. "You are Nestorians," they said to the Maximites. Therefore, the Chalcedonians were split into two parts, one arguing with the other without understanding. They were agreed on substance, for, what the Maronites challenged was not a physical dythelism in Christ, but the coexistence of two inimical wills, that is, a conflict between the human and the divine will. But, in the heat of the polemic and religious passion, instead of looking for a solution to the difficulty, they spent all their efforts trying to corner and disarm their adversary. Without knowing the Sixth Ecumenical Council, the Maronites were really in conformity with it.

This was and has always been the basis of Maronite thought. The few documents that we possess allow us to verify the continuity of Maronite belief throughout the centuries.

The first of these documents is a Missal which the Maronites used in the eleventh century and which, if not a manuscript, was at least composed before this period. Patriarch Douaihi (d. 1704) had had this Missal in his hands and has preserved a passage taken from a hymn in the Mass of the Catechumens. We shall give a literal

translation to preserve all the meaning of the original Syriac text.

> The Merciful, who in Mary lived poorly
> And, as a human, came from her womb humbly
> Has entered the world by miracle and marvelously
> In the union of two natures truly.
> Having one person, He had one will doubly
> With the properties of two natures indivisibly
> The natures remain in one hypostasis divinely
> Recognized without separation nor confusion
> By His Divine nature, He performed wonders divinely
> By His human nature, He endured suffering humanly
> Paul has said: He has become like us entirely
> Except sin, iniquity, impiety, truly (Ms. Vat. Syr. 396, fol. 24).

The author of this hymn, it is easy to see, has as his constant preoccupation to proclaim the doctrine of two natures in the unity of one person, with each nature acting on its own. In the face of both Nestorians and Monophysites, he affirmed the doctrine of two complete natures, each entirely distinct from the other, but a perfect harmony existing between the two. Christ is at the same time both God and man; He possesses a double will, but this will is one in the sense that the human faculty is irrevocably submitted to the divine. Also, according to Maronite thinking, the unity of wills extended only to the moral sense, for the author did not doubt the existence of a human will insofar as physical power was concerned. Otherwise how explain the context of: "one will He had doubly, with properties of two natures without division, without confusion; He made Himself like us in all things except sin"? What confirms our conclusion is the affirmation of a double energy in Christ; according to His divine nature, He performed prodigies, according to His human nature, He endured suffering.

A second text borrowed from the ancient canonical collection of the Maronites, translated from Syriac into Arabic about 1059 and known by the following names:

Book of Direction, Book of the Law, Book of Perfection. This collection was still unpublished when Reverend Pierre Fahed published it at Aleppo in 1935. It exists in many copies. We shall cite that of the Vatican (Vat. Syr. 133), written in 1402. Here is a translation of the text that concerns our subject:

> One should speak of the Incarnation of the Son...
>
> We believe that He is one of the three glorious persons, the Son, the Logos born of the Father... He descended from Heaven... He became incarnate, by the Holy Spirit, of the pure Virgin Mary, daughter of Joachim; He took from her a body... This body is animated by an intellectual soul, with a mind and endowed with knowledge. *He resembled us in all things except sin...* He has one person and two intellectual natures; He is God and man... We do not believe however that He is two, two Christs, two persons, two wills and two energies. Far from it! There is one Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Logos who became incarnate for us; one eternal person, without beginning, a man from Adam, having an animated body. *He is perfect God... and perfect man.* The Melkites and Maronites are divided on the question of the will (in Christ), The Melkites profess two wills, the Maronites one; and each party brings forth arguments to support its thesis... The Maronites say (to the Melkites): These two wills that you profess in Christ ought to be either conformed or opposed to each other. If they are conformed to each other one ends up with one will; but if they are opposed to each other, it follows that the divine nature wills what the human nature does not will, and the human nature wills what the divine nature does not will. If this is so, there would be division and opposition, resulting in two (persons in Christ); and therefore the (hypostatic) union would not exist anymore, the Trinity would become a quaternity and one would find himself reduced to the point of view of Nestorius and his opinions on Christ. The Maronites cited for support certain words of Christ, contained in the holy Gospels — His words to the lepers; "*I will it,*" when they came to Him saying,

> "If You will, You are able to heal me." (Mt. 8, 2-3) — His word to the worker; "Take the wage which is coming to you, and go in peace. *I will* to give to your companion as much as to you." (Mt. 20, 14) — another statement; "No one knows the Father except the Son and he to whom the Son *has wished* to reveal him." (Mt. 21, 27)... These words show that there is only one will in relation to the matters indicated. (fol. 21, vol. 31).

It is evident that the author of this profession of faith did not know the doctrine of the Sixth Ecumenical Council. For him, Christ is a perfect man as He is perfect God; the two natures, divine and human, are so closely united in Him that one is unable to imagine the least discord between them. Thus the basis of the argumentation is always the absolute impossibility of an opposition between the two wills, without considering the specific question of a human will in Christ. The dogma of the two physical wills of the Savior is found in an implicit state, as it had been among other Chalcedonians before the Monothelite querrels. The human will in Christ would not be denied, since Christ possessed our whole nature, except sin. What is denied, is the possibility of a conflict in Jesus Christ opposing the human will to the divine will, for if the two wills "are conformed to each other, one ends up with one will." In other words, the two wills are so united that one would not notice an exterior distinction between them. The examples drawn from the Gospels also show the thought of the Maronites. Christ acts as God as He acts as man. He expresses it equally when He performs a human action. Therefore, the healing of the lepers came from His divine will, and the giving of the wages is the work of His human will. But, the human will is in perfect harmony with the divine will to the point that Christ possesses only one will in the sense of one willed thing. In summary, this passage of the *Book of Direction* recalls for us the account of Tell-Mahré: Maronites and Melkites had been united in the same religious faith; they divided on the question of the two wills, the Maronites having understood the two wills as adverse and opposed to each other.

A third argument is narrated in a response adressed by Timothy I, the Patriarch of the Nestorians, to the monks of Saint Maron. Timothy was more than a nonagenarian when he died in 823. From this response, it is shown that the Maronites understood by Monothelitism the moral union of two wills, divine and human, in Christ. This response is found in the Cod. Borgiano, Syr. 31 of the Vatican, fol. 306 and ff.

A fourth text is borrowed from the work known by the name of *Ten Chapters*, composed in the eleventh century by a Maronite bishop, Thomas of Kaphartab. It is an unpublished work written in Arabic. We shall cite from a preserved copy No. 203 in the Syriac collection of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris written in 1470. Ordinarily, this work is invoked in support of the opinion of those who believe in the Monothelitism of the Maronites. Such a conclusion results from a superficial reading of the passage. It is necessary to read the whole work to be able to make an exact judgment.

The *Ten Chapters* were addressed to John IV, Melkite Patriarch of Antioch, in 1089. The general theme is that Jesus Christ is perfect God, perfect man. He is like us in all things, except sin. He has one will, because He is not able to have in Himself two wills opposed to each other, in other words, two wills of which the one is divine — that of the Father — and the other human in contradiction with the divine. The Savior does not have the will of a nature stained by sin as that of fallen Adam. The human nature of Christ is pure from all original stain.

In his Monothelitism, Thomas of Kaphartab considers the action and not the physical being of the will. He does not appear to deny or to doubt the existence of the faculty, the human will, for he declares that Christ has subjected entirely to the Divinity "the weakness of the will of His body" and that Christ has said: "I have not come to do the will of my humanity" (fol. 90, 93 and 103, 105).

Finally, we should show the continuity of the same thought, by reviewing the recommendation addressed by the bishop to a new priest, as it appears in the ancient rituals

of ordination. See, for example, a pontifical written in 1507 and preserved among the manuscripts of the Vatican (Vat. Syr. 48, fol. 63 and 64).

This is the doctrine of the Maronite Church. The physical will of Christ has never been denied. It is the idea of a conflict between the two wills of the God Man that one does not wish to admit. The expression of this idea is confused, but it is necessary to search for the cause in the ignorance of the conciliar definitions of 680-81. Even in the eleventh century, the Maronites were totally unaware of the Sixth Council. It is Thomas of Kaphartab who tells us: "Never have the Councils spoken of two wills" (44). The Maronites were so convinced of it that they regarded themselves united in the faith to the "Franks," that is, to the Latins, and found themselves in perfect accord with orthodoxy (45). This is why, they welcomed with open arms the first Crusaders who arrived in Lebanon in 1099, and rendered them precious services (46). Then, having learned of the doctrine of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, they hastened to profess explicitly the dogma of the two wills. As it was explained by the Fathers, this dogma was in close accord with the idea the Maronites had of the Incarnation. This is the so-called *conversion of the Maronites*, as told by the famous historian of the Crusades, William of Tyre!

It is not suprising that, in the conditions in which they found themselves, the Maronites would not have known the Sixth Ecumenical Coucil. Had not Saint Hilary of Poitiers (d. 366-68), one of the most learned bishops of his time, been unaware for many years of the Council of Nicaea, held in 325? It was about 355 that he learned of its Creed, as he himself says (47).

But how, say those who belong to the opposite opinion, should the documents which speak of the Monothelitism of the Maronites be interpreted?

To answer this objection, it is necessary to classify the the texts into two categories: the texts from the Maronite writers, and the works of different authors who spoke of the Maronites.

Taken separately, we recognize voluntarily that certain Maronite texts, liturgical and other, can be cited in favor of Monothelitism. But texts cannot be considered in isolation; it is necessary to make a comparative study before drawing final conclusions. But, if one looks at all of the Maronite texts together, and even if one takes the other documents and puts them in their historical context, one would end up with this conclusion: the Monothelitism condemned by the Sixth Council was not that of the Maronites. They had wished to proclaim only the moral union of two wills in Christ. Their inexact expression would not be understood otherwise by anyone who had carefully examined the diverse documents relating to this question.

Besides, an ill-formed expression, or even a positive error in a manuscript, is not sufficient in itself to impose the label of heresy on a community or a Church which made use of it. The fault ought to be put back on to the copyist, attributed to negligence on his part, to his ignorance, or imputed to a model of which he made a slavish reproduction. In the West, as in the East, manuscripts were executed without the control of authority and the writer alone took responsibility. Error could slip in very easily since scribes sometimes used or accommodated to the usage of their respective Churches the ecclesiastical books of other communities. See, for example the manuscript copies of the *Nomocanon* of Ibn al-'Assal, a Monophysite Copt, adapted to the needs of the Maronite Church. One was executed probably in the fourteenth century (ms. Barberini 41 of the Vatican), the second in 1475 (ms. Syr. 225 of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris), and the third in 1550 (library of the Monastery of Koraim of Lebanon), as cited by Darian (47).

Moreover, if one considers the situation of the Maronites, a small group surrounded by heretics and infidels, disrupted by centuries of oppression and terror, one should not be surprised to encounter some surprises and material errors due to ignorance. Circumstances of time and place should not be forgotten when one passes judgment on the Maronite question. There were no schools of theology, nor other centers of culture.

Threats and trials of all sorts absorbed their attention. However, in spite of their constant care to be ready to defend themselves against several religious and political enemies, they never lost sight of their duty to be faithful to the Church of Rome. This explains why, in the course of the ages, the Maronite clergy and people received always, with deference, the orders and directives of the Holy See.

Even a passage that one finds in an ecclesiastical book does not necessarily translate the belief of the Church to which the author or the copyist belongs; this is true for Catholic as well as non-Catholic communities.

As for the ancient and modern authors who have held the thesis of Maronite Monothelitism, they have based their theory on appearances or even on certain texts taken separately. They have neither considered the ensemble of facts and historical circumstances, nor done a comparative study of the documents. The majority of them have copied from each other and many have had for their direct source the chronicle of Eutyches of Alexandria (Sa'id Ibn Batriq), who could not be sure of the events since he was not a witness. Also, certain texts have been interpolated, badly interpreted or falsely attributed to ancient writers. It would take too long to consider all the authors or all the texts. It will suffice to cite by way example some of the more representative of these.

1. In the works of Saint John Damascene, the question of the Maronites is raised for the first time in the *Libellus de Recta Sententia*; then in the letter to Archmandrite Jordanus *De Hymno Trisagio*. In both works, the Maronites are mentioned briefly. The *Libellus de Recta Sententia* is a profession of faith, drafted about 726 and addressed under the name of Elias, Bishop of Iabroud, to Peter, Metropolitan of Damascus. As for the letter of Jordanus, it was composed after the death of John of Jerusalem, which occured in 734-35 (48).

Here is the text of the two passages relative to the Maronites:

> I swear by the holy, consubstantial and adorable Trinity, without deceit, that this is my belief and that I accept

> nothing else, and I am in no way in communion with those who hold another faith and do not profess this belief, especially the Maronites." (*Libellus de Recta Sententia*, Migne, P.G., t. XCIV, col. 1432).
>
> ...There is the delirium of Foulon (Peter of Foulon): Having lost his mind, full of conceit, 'his head uncovered,' so to speak, (his audacity resembles that of unchaste women), believing himself more wise than the Seraphim and higher in the knowledge of the Mysteries, he has not been afraid to tear up as a cheap fabric, the hymn of the Trisagion. If we address the hymn of the Trinity to the Son alone, all equivocation disappears, and we *maronite* it in adding the crucifixion to the Trisagion. God preserve us that such an expression should come to our lips; It would be better to die. (*Epistola ad Jordanem*, Migne, P.G., t. XCV, col. 33-34).

From these two texts one concludes to the heresy, notably Monothelitism, of the Maronites. On the one hand, John Damascene would seem to be in accord on this point with a number of writers; on the other hand, the insistence he makes on the Dythelite doctrine shows that he is reproaching the Maronites, as enemies of the dogma of two wills in Christ.

To this conclusion we answer: First, the two passages invoked against Maronite orthodoxy are of very doubtful authenticity. It is rather strange that Damascene would speak this way, without informing us beforehand of this group of people who are so impious and dangerous to the Christian social order. The hypothesis of interpolation is much more probable for the text of the letter to Jordanus; the word "to maronite" is absolutely lacking in certain manuscripts. In its place, we read, "we are delirious, as drunken people" (49). Is not this expression more in conformity with the idea of the author, *this is the delirium of Foulon*?

According to Assemani, if Damascene wished to refer to adding words to the *Trisagion*, he would more likely refer to Peter Cnapheus. "To maronite" is out of place since Damascene does not mention the Maronites when speaking

of heretics. It would have been more fitting to say "to cnapheize" or "to jacobitize" since they added words to the *Trisagion*. But, the above verbalizations are never used, and so it would seem even more unlikely that "to maronite" would be used since Maronite is never named among the heretics (50).

As for the mention of Maronites in the profession of faith, drawn up by Bishop Elias, suffragan of the Metropolitan of Damascus, it is equally strange in this context, as has been shown so well by Assemani (51). After having listed the first six ecumenical councils, after having read the names of various persons who have been condemned, notably Sergius, Cyrus, Paul, Peter and Pyrrhus Macarius of Antioch and his disciple Stephen, one is surprised to read the words "especially the Maronites." Damascene had made no allusion to the Maronites either before or after. This silence becomes even more significant when one notes any absence of their mention in the other works of Damascene, especially in those where he combats without mercy the various heretical systems and those who adhere to them. The context would demand the expression "the Manicheans," since in the following passage Damascene adds:

> I swear... to submit myself to the very holy Catholic and apostolic Church of our Metropolitan of Damascus, favored by Christ, to listen to His Holiness in all things and to obey him and all his successors, and not to receive without the consent and order of His Holiness, any of the Manicheans rejected by him.

At this time, Manicheanism had revived in the East under the name of Paulicianism. According to Theophane (ad. an. 6234), the Metropolitan Peter, a friend of Damascene, who had received the profession of faith of Elias, had had his tongue cut and was exiled in Arabia by the order of Calif Walid II, and the reason was that he had condemned the impiety of the Arabs and the Manicheans (52). Therefore, if one recalls the particularly evil influence exerted by Manicheanism in the East and the zeal used by Byzantine

theologians and emperors themselves in destroying this heresy, one can understand better the words of Damascene to the Manicheans. Assemani gives a good explanation (53).

After all, it is not strange for copyists to make additions and corrections in manuscripts on their own.

Apart from the question of authenticity, the reproach that Damascene has made against the Maronites in the letter to Jordanus is as follows: they add to the *Trisagion* the formula, "who has been crucified for us." But, they do not understand it in the sense condemned by the Church. We know that they address it to the Incarnate Word. The Maronites were Chalcedonians and followed the usages of the official church of Antioch. Ephrem of Amid, Patriarch of Antioch (529-45), gives witness of the usage of the *Trisagion* in his patriarchate, and his witness is preserved for us by Photius:

> This man (Ephrem) has composed various works of which we have three. Nearly all of the works that we have seen battle in favor of the dogmas of the Church and try to establish that the holy Council of Chalcedon is a shelter from all attacks of heresy. The beginning of the first book is a letter addressed to Zenobius, a scholastic of Homs, who had reached madness. He had gone aga nst the strong condemnations contained in the letter of the very Holy Leo, Pontiff of Rome. At the beginning of this dissertation, (that is, at the beginning if the book), Ephrem reports of a certain usage of the hymn of the *Trisagion*. Zenobius having separated himself from Church communion, gave as the pretext this innovation concerning the doxology of the *Trisagion*. Ephrem says that the inhabitants of the East refer this hymn to Our Lord Jesus Christ and that, consequently, they commit no error in adding the 'who has been crucified for us.' He affirms that the inhabitants of Constantinople and the West apply this doxology to the Supreme, the most holy source of all goodness, the consubstantial Trinity. This is why the latter do not support the addition of 'who has been crucified for us' in order not to attribute suffering to the Trinity. In many of the countries of

> Europe, instead of 'who has been crucified for us,' one substitutes, 'Holy Trinity, have mercy on us' (54).

The Maronites were among the subjects of Ephrem and among the Easterners who addressed to Christ the formula, "crucified for us." They do not cease to use it in this manner, even after their separation from the official patriarchate of Antioch. The ancient custom still remains in vigor; it has been preserved in liturgical books of the Maronites, printed in Rome with the authorization of the Holy See.

2. The *Annals* of Eutyches (Sa'id Ibn Batriq), Patriarch of Alexandria (933-40), contain a passage regarding the origins of the Maronites. Here is the translation:

> At the time of Maurice, Emperor of the Romans (582-602), there was a monk named Maron, who affirmed in Our Lord Christ two natures but one will, one operation, and one person, and who corrupted the faith of men. Many of those who partook of this doctrine and declared themselves as his disciples were from the town of Hama, of Qennesrin, and of Al-'Awasim... The followers of his doctrine were called Maronites, from the name Maron. At the death of Maron, the inhabitants of Hama built a monastery at Hama, called it Dair Maroun and professed the faith of Maron (55).

P. Vailhé states: "This passage from Eutyches includes numerous inexactitudes. The author seems to confuse the monk Maron with Saint Maron, the contemporary of Saint John Chrysostom. He speaks of the building of the Monastery of Saint Maron on the Orontes in the seventh century, when it existed in the fifth century. He attributes the appearance of Monothelitism to the reign of Maurice, when it did not appear until some years later in 616 during the reign of Heraclius. It was not really widespread until 633-34. All these errors challenge the use of this passage as evidence" (56).

Also, the *Annals* of Eutyches are so mixed with inexactitudes and large mistakes, that their real value is challenged. Consequently, one is not able to accept the account of "events of which he has not been an eyewitness" (57). Unfortunately,

Eutyches has served as a source for a good number of later writers such as Masoudi (58), William of Tyre (see below) and others who have copied from him without caution.

3. An account of William of Tyre continues to strike minds both in the East and the West:

> During this time when the Kingdom enjoyed a temporary peace (this refers to the truce signed in 1180 by Saladin), a people from Syria, living in the province of Phoenicia, in the mountains of Lebanon near the city of Byblos (Jbail), underwent a great change of heart. After having followed the error of a certain heresiarch named Maron (from whom they are named Maronites) for nearly 500 years, after having practiced their sacraments apart, being separated from the Church of the Faithful, these Syrians, having been seized by a divine inspiration, arose from their languidness and sought out Aimeri, the third Latin patriarch of Antioch, who actually governed this Church. Having adjured the error in which they had been for too long a time and which they had held dangerously, they returned to the unity of the Catholic Church, adhering to the orthodox faith, prepared to accept and to observe with great veneration the traditions of the Roman Church. The number of this group was not small; some say it surpassed 40,000 people established, as we have said above, on the mountains and slopes of Lebanon spread out in the dioceses of Byblos, Botrys (Batroun) and Tripoli. They were courageous men, valiant in war and very useful to our men in the battles that took place often with the enemy. Their return to the true Faith caused us great joy. The error of Maron and his followers, as we read in the Sixth Council which was convened against them and in which they were condemned, consists in this: in Our Lord Jesus Christ there is and there was from the beginning only one will and one operation. To this article condemned by the true Church they had added others just as dangerous, after they had separated themselves from the community of the faithful. Having regretted these

things, they returned to the Catholic Church, as we have said above, along with their patriarch and some of their bishops (59).

The historians who, after him, have maintained the thesis of Maronite Monothelitism, have supported their position on the account of the Archbishop of Tyre. They argue that, since William was a contemporary, no one can deny or contest the authenticity of the fact that the Maronites had abandoned their heresy and returned to the Catholic Church.

We should therefore study the merit of the witness of William of Tyre. First of all, we apply to this text the same observation that we have applied to other ancient authors. The Archbishop of Tyre has not examined the Syriac and Arabic documents to determine the sense that the Maronites give to the unity of will in Christ. He himself tells us in his preface that he did not consult Greek and Arabic texts but only learned translations (60).

The great historian of the Crusades himself confesses where he has borrowed his information; he has taken from Eutyches of Alexandria: "I have followed that venerable man, Sa'id Ibn Batriq, Patriarch of Alexandria" (61). If he does not say it, it is obvious that he has taken the very words of the Patrriarch of Alexandria regarding the origin of the Maronites. The testimony of William does not merit any more confidence than that of Eutyches.

Furthermore, in those cases where the Archbishop of Tyre does not depend on Eutyches his information is no better. He cites the Sixth Ecumenical Council, but the Sixth Ecumenical Council does not say one word about the Maronites.

But then how can we explain the fact of the conversion related by William as having happened during his time? First of all the Archbishop of Tyre was not an eyewitness. Not having assisted at all the events that he recounts, he often reports from the information given by others (62).

The amount that he has seen with his own eyes is very little (63).

The above observations ought already to weaken the value of this testimony. But, if the text is given a very careful examination, its falsity becomes glaringly apparent. Has history ever recorded that a whole people, strongly attached to their secular traditions, have converted under the pressure of a divine inspiration alone and without the aid of any secondary causes? Why this sudden conversion after more than 24 years of close relations with the Crusaders? Why this conversion during the period of decadence of the Latin kingdom? From their arrival in 1099 into the territory of the Maronites, the Franks came into contact with Maronites and found in them sure advisers and proven guides. William himself gives us this information (64). The faithful Syrians of Mount Lebanon, whose qualities William praises (l. VII, c. xxi), were the Maronites. He uses the same terms later on (l. XXII, c. viii). Also, "of all the natives," writes E. Rey "these are the ones with whom the Latin legislator was most concerned; they obtained a more favorable position than all the other indigenous peoples" (65). The Maronites who flattered themselves as having the same faith as the Franks, as we saw above, were always asked to offer their services to the Crusaders and obtained a privileged position. Besides, the territories indicated by William were inhabited by them (66). Also, the most skilled writers of the history of Lebanon and of the Maronites do not hesitate to recognize them as the "faithful Syrians" of c. vii of William (67).

Therefore, it is an established fact that the Maronites were in accord with the Franks from 1099. Circumstances reinforce this view, for the great majority of Crusaders were situated in the area of Tripoli, which was part of Maronite territory (68).

Therefore, is one able to conceive that the Maronite people had waited until 1180-81, a time when the Franks were divided and their kingdom at the point of collapsing, to be touched by the breath of divine inspiration and embrace the religion of a ruler that had lost his aura of prestige? We do not even cite the scandals and the dissolituion of morals which had even reached the upper clergy of the Frankish

Church. To put it clearly, it is necessary to lack all psychological sense to accept the account of this conversion. It is unbelievable that at the twilight of the Crusades the Maronites would proclaim that they were in perfect communion with the faith of the Franks. (Cf. the *Ten Chapters* written in 1089 by the Maronite Bishop of Kaphartab to the Melkite Patriarch of Antioch, fol. 86, vol. 100.)

But how has William of Tyre been able to leave such an account? It is difficult to say anything for certain. But since we must turn to hypotheses, the most likely one appearing to us is the following: The schism which had arisen at the death of Adrian IV (September 1, 1159) by the election of two popes, Alexander III and Victor IV, and which had ended in 1180 had had a repercussion in Syria — some being for the legitimate Pope, others for the anti-Pope. On the day of the claimed conversion of the Maronites, it is likely that it was only an act of recognition of the legitimate Pope as had already taken place in 1131 following the double election of Innocent II and Anacletus II, in the presence of Cardinal William, legate of the Holy See in Syria. (Cf. a letter written in 1494 to Patriarch Simon of Hadath by the Maronite scholar Gabriel Ibn al'Qela'i [Qlai, Bar Qlai, Benclaius], an extract of which is translated by P. Lammens in the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 1899, t. IV, pp. 99-100. In this letter, Ibn al'Qela'i refers to authentic pieces preserved not only in the archives of the Maronite Patriarchate, but at Rome) (70). When the news of this act of submission arrived to the Archbishop of Tyre, he, being influenced by the reading of Eutyches of Alexandria, understood the meaning of the event as a conversion of the Maronite people. This interpretation is supported by the lack of precision of his account. He puts this event in a chapter which ought to be concerned entirely with something else — note the title, *Noardini Filius Moritur, Domino Mussulae Consanguineo Sub Haereditate Relicta.* In our opinion, another explanation of this account of William of Tyre would not fit well with the ensemble of documents and known facts (71).

What confirms our view further is a note written by the

Maronite patriarch Jeremias on a Gospel manuscript and preserved at the Laurentiana of Florence. In this note, Jeremias tells us that he was consecrated Metropolitan in 1279 by the Patriarch Peter (i.e. Daniel Peter) in the Monastery of Our Lady of Maiphouq; that, four years later under the order of the Lord of Byblos (Byblos was part of the country of Tripoli), with the bishops, chor-bishops and priests, he was elected Patriarch, then sent by them to Rome; that he charged the Bishop Theodore to govern the Patriarchate during his absence (72). Not a word is said about the event related by the Archbishop of Tyre. An event as grave as the conversion of a people ought to merit a place in a note of this kind. The silence of Jeremias takes on more significance when one considers that the Patriarch takes pains to point out in this note certain unimportant details, such as the number of monks at Maiphouq and the names of some of them, and even to record other facts of this kind, such as the death of one of the religious (73).

In summary, William of Tyre knew the faith of the Maronites only through Eutyches. What he reports, the conversion of the Maronites, is unlikely given the circumstances. His account can be explained if the conversion is understood as the recognition of a legitimate Pope, and this is more probable in view of the fact that he places this event at the end of the schism which arose at the death of Adrian IV.

It is William of Tyre who has inspired later authors, especially in the West. Jacques de Vitry (d. 1240) reproduces his account concerning the Maronites (74). The Bishop of Acra then Cardinal-Bishop of Tusculum, Jacques de Vitry has exercised a great influence on the writers of his time and on later writers. He has become a source of information on the religious origins of the Maronites. (Cf. for exemple, Marin Sanudo or Sanuti, called Torsello [d. after 1314], *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis Super Terrae-Sanctae Recuperatione et Conservatione*, l. III, part. viii, c. ii, in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Franceos, Orientalis Historiae*, t. II, Hanover, 1611, p. 183. Sanudo speaking about the Maronites reproduces almost word for word Jacques de Vitry. Cf. also Nic. Glassberger,

Franciscan annalist of the fifteenth century, who also takes the expressions of the Bishop of Tusculum, in the *Analecta Franciscana*, t. II, Quaracchi, 1887, p. 453; and Father Francesco Suriano [who visited the Maronites in 1515], *Il Trattato di Terra Santa et dell'Oriente*, edit. Golubovich, Milan, 1900, p. 68-69, esp. p. 68, n. 3.)

From all this, the conviction arose in the West, especially at Rome, that the Maronite Church was born in the Monothelite heresy. The genealogy of this conviction can be seen in this way: from William of Tyre we go to Eutyches of Alexandria.

4. Finally, a text of Innocent III has been often exploited to accuse the Maronite people of heresy. It is a question of the bull *Quia Divinae Sapientiae* written in 1215 to the Patriarch, the episcopate, the clergy and the Maronite people.

> By His great mercy Divine Providence brought it about that those, who according to His just but hidden judgment, were left under an obscure cloud, should walk bathed in heavenly grace into the clear light of truth. We have learned that such has happened to the Church of the Greeks and to you, and we rejoice in it. You were formerly as a stray flock; you did not understand that Christ had only one spouse, a dove, the Holy Catholic Church; that there is only one true shepherd: Christ and after and by Him, His Vicar, the apostle Peter... But through Peter, Cardinal-Priest of Saint Marcel, then legate of the Apostolic See, of good memory, having been sent by us, some time ago, into your territory, you have returned, under the inspiration of the Lord, to your shepherd, to the Bishop of your souls, recognizing us as supreme Pontiff of the universal Church and Vicar of Jesus Christ, and the Roman Church for your mother... For, when you were lately at Tripoli, Brother Patriarch, in the presence of the Cardinal, with some of your suffragans, Joseph, Archbishop of Qozhayya, and Theodore, Bishop of Kapharphou, and numerous priests and laity, all of you have spontaneously sworn..., following the customary formula by which metropolitans

promise obedience to the Apostolic See, that you have witnessed humbly to the Roman Church, to us, and to our successors, due obedience and respect. But, having seen that you lacked certain things, the Cardinal has taken care to supplement it by the fullness of this apostolic authority, prescribing that you believe without hesitation according to what the Roman Church believes, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son — this is demonstrated by sacred authorities and certain proofs: to use in baptism the form which consists for triple immersion, one invocation of the Trinity; to administer the sacrament of Confirmation by bishops alone; to not use in the making of chrism any other substance except balsam and oil; to confess sins to one's proper priest at least once a year and to receive with devotion the sacrament of the Eucharist, at least three times a year; to confess two wills in Christ, that is, the divine will and the human will; to not use for the Holy Sacrifice chalices of glass, of wood or of bronze, but of pewter, silver, or gold; to have bells to note the hours and to call people to Church (75).

Such a document, given by the highest Church authority, say the adversaries of the Maronites, leaves no doubt of the heterodox origin of this nation. But, the conversion of the Maronites would then be placed during the time of Innocent III (1198-1216), which would nullify the testimony of William of Tyre, according to whom it would be placed in 1180-81 under the pontificate of Aimeri (Amaury of Limoge), Patriarch of Antioch.

This conversion would have been accomplished in the presence of Cardinal Peter of Amalfi, legate of Innocent III, who arrived in Syria in 1203. This would be far removed from the date fixed by the Archbishop of Tyre.

To this those advocating conversion would answer: the union concluded in 1180-81 did not last; it was broken by the bad will of Patriarch Luke, who died in 1209; his successor hastened to repair the evil; he went to the Fourth Council of the Lateran in 1215 and replied to the pontifical legate

charged with reconciling anew the Maronite Church with the Holy See (76).

The truth of the matter is that at this time, there was no Maronite patriarch named Luke. Jeremias ascended to the Patriarchate around 1199; he was still Patriarch in 1215, since the letter of the Pope was addressed to him in that year. He died in 1230 (77).

This history of this rupture with Rome and of the restoration by Jeremias is therefore incorrect, conjectured by the need for a cause.

In reading closely the Bull of Innocent III, one sees that the Pope does not envisage a retraction of dogmatic errors or false doctrines from the Maronites. He has in mind only the oath of fidelity, taken by the Maronites, "according to the customary form by which metropolitans promise obedience to the Apostolic See." The head of the Maronite Church only swears fidelity to the Holy See as was done before him by his predecessor in 1181. There is no question of a profession of faith as contained in a formula of abjuration, that the Church imposes for the reconciliation of heretics.

However, there is in this letter of Innocent III, some expressions which denote a veritable return to the Catholic Church. But are these expressions addressed to the Maronites or to the Greeks? The Pope is concerned in this letter with both the Maronites and the Greeks: "We have learned what has happened to the Church of the Greeks and to you." The theme on which the Pontiff dwells shows this even better. Speaking of stray sheep, the sovereign pontiff is referring with this title to the Christians who do not recognize the Catholic Church, or the authority of Peter and his successors. No one has ever reproached the Maronites for not being submitted to the Pope. On the contrary the fidelity to the Vicar of Christ gives to this nation which has lived in the midst of non-Catholic peoples, its mark, its unity, and its existence. We have seen above the attitude that it took and maintained in the face of the Monophysites; we have also seen that at the twilight of the Crusades, it proclaimed still its union with the

"Franks." But, what is even more demonstrative is the insistence with which the Pope speaks about the procession of the Holy Spirit. Never has there been a shadow of a doubt concerning the orthodoxy of the faith of the Maronites on this point. It is inevitable that this letter of Innocent III, concerning two entirely distinct confessions, could be misunderstood and leave the door open as to the exact thinking of the Pontiff. Confusion is bound to result from such a mixture.

It is true that the Pope speaks about two wills in Christ. But this question is only touched upon in passing and is followed immediately by articles dealing with discipline. This would indicate that he was aware of the way in which the Maronites understood this doctrine.

Besides, he recognizes in this same letter the legitimacy of the patriarchal power exercised by the predecessors of Jeremias. "We grant with our apostolic authority to you and your successors the use of the pallium, according to the approved custom which you and your predecessors in the Church of Antioch have been known to have." Would Innocent III use this kind of language if he knew that Jeremias was preceded by a line of heretics? Would he have left intact, if he did not admit the juridical basis, the prerogatives of the Maronite Patriarchate, parallel to the Latin See of Antioch, when he was so attached to the principle of unity of jurisdiction? But, he recognized in regard to Jeremias the full patriarchal authority, and made no restrictions on the prerogatives of his see.

But let us go further, even if we suppose that the Pope really thought the Maronites were converted, in view of the documents would this differ from the explanation we have given above? The pontifical legate would have judged the question according to appearances, without taking care to compare the diverse texts which are relevant; he would have based his report on insufficient information, and so a mistake would be made.

Unhappily, without considering the circumstances we have indicated, the letter of Innocent III has been cited in

favor of Maronite heterodoxy. Furthermore, this same letter has been utilized in the redaction of other pontifical bulls (78).

In conclusion, the accusation of Monothelitism directed against the Maronites, appears to be due to a misunderstanding, in the eighth century, between the Maronites and the Maximites, that is, the followers of the Dythelite doctrine, preached by Maximus the Confessor. This accusation has spread to the East and the West, especially through Eutyches of Alexandria, William of Tyre, and Jacques de Vitry; the first was the source of the second, and the second the source of the third. The letter *Quia Divinae Sapientiae* of Innocent III is misunderstood and consecrates, in the eyes of numerous writers, the heterodox origin of this people. And so, this is how the legend of Maronite Monothelitism was born, developed, and incorporated into history.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FORMATION OF THE MARONITE PATRIARCHATE

At the time of the invasion of Syria by the Arabs, the official Church of Antioch was without a partiarch since the death of Anastasius II (September 609), and the new political state did not allow it to have a ruler. At Constantinople there was serious concern over this grave question; they even went so far as appointing titular leaders of the capital of the East. Nevertheless, these patriarchs having established their residence in Constantinople, the See of Antioch in reality remained unoccupied.

This situation continued until 702. At that time, Antioch ceased to have even a nominal patriarch, and this vacancy ended only in 742, through the election of Stephen III whom Calif Hicham allowed to take possesion of this See (79).

But, it is in this troubled period, during which the Church of Antioch struggled with a sort of anarchy, that the Maronites chose to have a leader by electing a patriarch. Our source of information is Denis of Tell-Mahré. After having made a report of an incident which had taken place in 745-46 at the Monastery of Saint Maron, he adds: "The Maronites *remain* as they are; they ordain a *patriarch* and bishops of their Monastery" (80). On the occasion of this incident, the Maronite Patriarch appears for the first time in history. This passage of Tell-Mahré is the most ancient document that we possess concerning this institution. But its origin goes back to a very distant date, to that period when the See of Antioch was unoccupied. The word *remains* implies that the Maronites were this way formerly and were governed by a patriarch and bishops. Thanks to this document, the fact is incontestable.

Although the origins of the Maronite Patriarchate remain in shadows, the text of Tell-Mahré furnished nevertheless a serious support to the tradition that the establishment of the Patriarchate goes back to the latter years of the seventh century. The scholarly patriarch Stephen Douaihi preserves this tradition. He has listed the Maronite patriarchs from John Maron, the first of the line (who should not be confused with Saint Maron, the founder of the Church), up to himself (1670-1704). He tells us that he has taken his information from the following documents: a paper dated in 1313 which was found among the papers of his predecessor, George of Beseb'el (d. 1670); a letter written in 1495 by Gabriel Ibn al-Qela'i; lists given to him by the Bishop of 'Aqoura, George Habqouq; a very ancient *diaconcicon*, where the deacon at the dyptichs proclaims the names of all the Patriarchs. This list of Maronite patriarchs of Douaihi has been published by Rachid Chartouni under the title: *Chronology of the Maronite Patriarchs*, Beyrouth, 1902; it has been used formerly by Le Quien in his *Oriens Christianus*, t. III, according to the Latin translation made in 1733 by Joseph Ascari, a Maronite priest of Aleppo (81). (The list of Douaihi differs a little from that of Assemani, which was written in Arabic and published as a Latin translation by Reverend John Notain Darauni under the title *Series Chronologica Patriarcharum Antiochae*, Rome, 1881.)

The circumstances at the time of the birth of the Maronite Patriarchate render its creation as incontestably legitimate. The Church of Antioch did not have a ruler; the Maronite monks, leaders in the situation, were able to provide one; they did so, and the action cannot be alleged to be against any canoncial rule. Furthermore, if there had been any doubt about its legitimacy, the Holy See would not have failed to condemn it as Pope Saint Martin in 649 condemned Macedonius of Constantinople. "This (Macedonius) is in no way recognized as a bishop of the Catholic Church, not only because he usurped the title to himself, outside the canons and without consent or any decree, but also he has consented to heretics..." (Letter to John of Philadelphis in Mansi, *Concil.*, t. X, col. 811). The Pope says further: "Therefore, we exhort

you that you believe and maintain these things with us, avoiding all heresy... and the insane authors of heresy... and Macedonius the heretic, whom the heretics consider as the Bishop of Antioch against the canons." (Letter to the Churches of Jerusalem and Antioch, *Ibid.*, t. X, col. 830).

The documents that we have studied lead us to believe that the Maronite patriarchs have always borne the title of Antioch (82).

Far from failing to recognize this right of the Maronite patriarchs, Rome has positively recognized its legitimacy. The Bull of Innocent III *Quia Divinae Sapientiae* of 1215 furnished the oldest testimony on this subject: "By our apostolic authority, we grant to you and your successors the use of the pallium according to your approved customs, which you and your predecessors in the Antiochene Church have been known to have" (83).

The patriarchal jurisdiction recognized by Innocent III had been exercised by Maronites in this See before Jeremias who took possession about 1199.

The witness of Benedict XIV and Alexander IV confirms the right of the Maronite patriarch to the title of Antioch. (Allocution at the consistory of July 13, 1744) (84).

Besides, in 1256, the same Alexander IV addresses anew to the Maronites the Bull *Quia Divinae Sapientiae* of Innocent III (85).

In 1469, Paul II witnesses to the legitimacy of these same rights (Letter *Virtutum Deus*) (86). Other Popes have done the same (87).

In addition, this was a time when the Maronite Patriarchate was the only Catholic patriarchate representing the liturgical and disciplinary tradition of Antioch. Would not this point alone suffice to allow us to consider the head of the Maronite Church as the legitimate heir to the See of Antioch?

How is it that not all of the Popes have given the title of Antioch to the Maronite patriarchs? Reverend Chebli has

already answered this difficulty in his article *Le Patriarcat Maronite d'Antioche*. He states:

> I answer with all respect due to the holy Pontiffs of Rome that the difficulties of communications and distance have hindered them from knowing certain parts of their most faithful and obedient flock. And so, in 1513 the Maronite patriarch, Simeon of Hadeth, sent a priest named Peter to the superior of the Franciscans in Beyrouth, in order that he would write to Pope Leo X and ask his confirmation of the patriarch and for the pallium. (This was done because they did not know the Latin language.) Peter boarded a ship for Italy carrying with him the letter of Reverend Mark of Florence, a letter filled with praise for the Maronites and their constancy in the Catholic faith. However, at Rome all the authorities were quite surprised and understood nothing of his request and sent him back to the East to get documents which would prove the reason and the legitimacy of his mission. Pope Leo X...wrote in his Bull of 1515 to the Maronite patriarch: 'when last year the Maronite Peter came to us and expressed your desire to have us confirm your election by the Maronite Church, we examined this matter in our secret consistory with our brother cardinals, but since no one not even Peter knew of any election or confirmation of any former Maronite patriachs, we...have sent the nuntio back to you; so that if you had other apostolic letters from previous Roman Pontiffs of similar confirmation we could see them. Your nuntio has returned to us with letters from you written in Arabic and the original letters of Innocent II, Alexander IV... and Eugene IV, Nicolas V, Calistus III, and Paul II...' —Reread these strange words: 'this matter' and 'no one,' etc. At Rome in the sixteenth century, there was very little interest in the East, so that no one was even aware that the Maronites existed; Yet, they are surprised that the Maronites did not carry out all the official formalities regarding the Holy See! When one recalls the hard conditions in which they floundered, one cannot

understand how they survived these cruel and long persecutions and preserved intact the Christian faith (88).

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, many years after the foundation of their college at Rome, the Maronites were still not known too well; one looked upon them as Indians (Marc Antonio Ciappi, *Comependio delle Heroiche et Gloriose Attioni et Santa Vita di Papa Gregorio XIII*, Rome, 1956, p. 30-31).

The heads of the Maronite Church did not reside in the city of Antioch; the circumstances and religious and political events obliged them to remain outside. They lived at first in the Monastery of Saint Maron. Then, after the establishment of the patriarchal see in Lebanon, they were located in monasteries in the mountains, especially at Ianouth, Maiphouq, Kafarhai, and Qannoubin. According to Douaihi, the patriarchal residence was definitively transferred to Lebanon in 939 by John Maron II (*Annales*, Vat. Syr. 215, fol. 14. Compare this text with the *Chronology of the Maronite Patriarchs* by the same Douaihi, edit. Chartouni, Beyrouth, 1902, p. 16. Cf. also Stephen Awad Assemani, op. cit., p. 16-17 and *Synodus Provincialis.. in Monte Libano Celebrata Anno 1736.* Rome, 1820, p. 264-66).

The introduction of Byzantine usages in the Church of Antioch widened the breach which separated into two camps the defenders of the Fourth Ecumencial Council. Known at first by the name of Chalcedonians, they were later called by their adversaries by the name of Melkites (the Emperor's party), because of the bonds which tied them to Constantinople. However, this name Melkite, given to Timothy Salofaciol, Bishop of Alexandria, who died in 482, was used in Syria, we believe, only after the arrival of the Arabs. It is encountered, for the first time, in the letters of the Nestorian patriarch, Timothy I (d. 823) (89). It was applied to all the Chalcedonians. A writer of the eleventh century, Habib Abou-Raita, Jacobite metropolitan of Tagrit, tells us that one distinguished between the Melkite Chalcedonians who are Maximites and the Melkite Chalcedonians who are Maronites (90). However, the former group was drawn more

and more to Constantinople; they abandoned the rite and usages of Antioch and adopted those of Constantinople. Also, in the succeeding years the name Melkite was reserved exclusively for them. The Maronites, hereafter having their own patriarch, were faithful to the rite and the discipline of Antioch and became separate from the Byzantinized Melkites.

The institution of the Patriarchate was not followed immediately by a complete ecclesiastical organization. The Patriarch remained for a long time the only head of his people. Wihtout doubt, heading certain towns, villages, and even monasteries were bishops; but they were strictly speaking only representatives of the Patriarch (91). This was still the situation on the eve of the Synod of Mount Lebanon (September 30, October 1 and 2, 1736). The division of the Patriarchate into eparchies or dioceses, ordered in 1625 and 1635 by two decrees of the Propaganda (cited by Reverend Rodota in Cod. Vat. Lat. 7401, fol. 217, v°), was accomplished only following the Council of 1736.

The establishment of the Maronite people having been centred on the religious, it was natural that the Patriarchate would become the rallying point, in both the political and ecclesiastical spheres. This situation of the Patriarch was reinforced further by the temporal rights that the Arabs recognized for the spiritual heads of Christian communities, and that the Crusaders, Mamelouks and Ottoman Turks maintained (92).

The temporal powers with which the religious heads found themselves invested gave rise to a type of juridic literature found only in the East, that of the *Nomocanons*, works containing a mixture of canon law and civil law. The *Nomocanons* defined the competence of the religious heads and gave to the patriarchs such prestige that the confessional question and national question were identified in their countries.

The geographic situation of the Maronites, the religious and political battles that they had undergone had especially reinforced in them a spirit of nationality; they had in their

fidelity to the Patriarch an expression of patriotic sentiment. Retrenched in the precipices of the mountains of Lebanon, this people was able to create for itself its own way of life and to enjoy a certain autonomy under the direction of their spiritual leaders. "Strongly grouped around their clergy and their Patriarch, the Maronites constituted a small people with their own particular identity. The holy valley of Kadisha, marked with the cells of hermits, and the cedars in the heights were symbols of their vitality and their independence. The patriarchal Monastery of Qannoubin, perched as an eagle's nest, summarized their whole history" (93).

This peculiar situation of the Maronites gave to their Patriarch and bishops an independence and a freedom of action that none of the heads of the other Christian communities in the East had. Differing from these, the Maronite prelates were exempted from the obligation of the *firman* or certificate of official recognition and investiture (94).

In these circumstances, the Maronite *Nomocanon* necessarily had a great importance. Clerics and faithful went to their religious chiefs for all ecclesiatical and civil matters. They recognized no other authority as ruling their affairs. One can still find in Lebanon a number of acts and sentences which witness to this practice. (Patriarch Paul Mas'ad [1854-1890] has gathered together a large number of the Patriarchal archives.) This usage began to disappear only in the course of the nineteenth century (95). A number of manifestations of this practice remain even today. The arbitration of the Patriarch or a bishop is sought to decide an affair or settle a quarrel. We are not speaking of matters relating to "personal statute" which in many Eastern countries still fall under religious jurisdictions.

Therefore, the religious life of the Maronite people is intimately tied to their civil and national life. It is mixed with it. There is hardly a matter of importance where the Patriarch does not appear.

This history of the patriarchs who have succeeded to the See of Antioch is therefore of peculiar interest. Unfortunately,

we know only the names of the ones in the earlier centuries. We do not even know of the existence of one or another. This should not be surprising if we remember the difficulties persecutions, and wars that the Maronites experienced during that era. Absorbed in their trials, they scarcely had the opportunity to keep the records of their Church. Also some of their writings did not survive. (For example, those of Theophilus of Edessa [d. 785] and Qais [ninth-tenth centuries].) The first was cited by Barhebreus (96) and the second by Mas'oudi (97). As for the writings of later centuries, some have been lost. Nevertheless, the information that we have allows us to follow the development of the Maronite patriarchate at least in general terms.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE EXPANSION OF THE MARONITES

Grouped at the beginning in the area of Apameus in Syria II, the Maronites spread into the valley of the Orontes, especially to Ma'rrat-an-No'man, to Chaizar, to Hama and to Homs (98). According to Tell-Mahré (99), Eutyches of Alexandria (100), and Barhebreus (101), they spread to other regions: Mabboug (Hierapolis, the chief place of Syria III), Qennesrin, Aleppo, Edessa, al-'Awasim (a line of fortifications going from Antioch to Mabboug, raised under the 'Abbasides against the Byzantines). Father Lammens adds that there ought to have been a number at Antioch and its surrounding area. Antioch was the chief place of Syria I where al-'Awasim and Cyr were located, as mentioned by Theodoret more than once when speaking of St. Maron (102). Besides, this conforms to Maronite tradition.

The arrival of the Arabs notably changed the situation of the Maronites. They underwent further violence from their religious enemies. At the beginning, the Maximites and Jacobites enjoyed a certain influence with the new ruler; the former because of their technical knowledge and the latter because of their number and especially because of the hate with which they pursued the Byzantines (103). They did not fail to use this influence against the Maronites (104). The attacks and hardships were such that the monks of Saint Maron sought help from the Nestorian patriarchs; this appears in the response that Timothy I (d. 823) addressed to them in 791, as cited by David (105). The fact that the Maronites had recourse to leaders of a heterodox belief in no way implies, as some have tried to say, that the Maronites were in communion with the Nestorians. The persecuted

monks, because they were not in immediate contact with the Christians of Persia, were not in conflict with them and were able to solicit the help of their Patriarch with the civil authorities.

However, it was only a palliative. They could not receive guarantees safeguarding their Faith. And so, the Maronites abandoned the rich plains of Syria and took refuge in Lebanon; they left the shores of the Orontes where various cultures blossomed to the arid mountains and unshapely and savage lands (106).

The Maronite immigration did not happen in one stroke. It began at the end of the seventh century and continued in steps. The Maronites were situated at first in the region of the North, especially at the foot of the Cedars; later, they pushed toward the center and the south; and so, little by little, Lebanon was covered by this active and hard-working people. However, the northern part remained the center of their grouping (107).

From that time on the Maronite people had a definite country. It was there, helped by these mountains, that they lived a simple, austere and laborious life (108).

Having arrived in Lebanon, the Maronites had for their first concern the organizing of their cult. In the middle of the eighth century, Maronite churches are already founded, for example that of Mar-Mama at Ehden, built in 749 (109).

They were in contact with the indigenous population as well as with certain foreign elements as the *Djaradjima*; they absorbed them forming one nation (110).

The destruction of the Monastery of Saint Maron and the transfer of the patriarchal residence to Lebanon further stimulated the immigration. The Maronites spread through the land of the Cedars and made it into a Christian territory.

Nevertheless, some of them went elsewhere. The documents of the first half of the twelfth century indicate the existence of a Maronite monastery on the the island of Cyprus (111).

When was this monastery established? Probably in the ninth century, following the general persecution that had taken place under al-Mamoun (813-33) in Syria and Palestine. A good number of Christians took refuge then on the island of Cyprus which is located a few hundred kilometres from the Lebanese coast (112).

In the ninth century, a Maronite community existed in the region of Aleppo, ruled by Bishop Thomas of Kaphartab and we know that in 1140 a Maronite leader Simon took Aintab, which is north of Aleppo (113).

These indications show the expansion of the Maronites in Syria and elsewhere. However, it was in Lebanon that the great majority settled; it was there that the center of national and ecclesiastical life was established. The Maronites had hoped to find complete religious peace in the protection of the mountains. But this peace was only intermittent and relative. "Having arrived in northern Lebanon, in the eighth century, a little before the Mardaites, they had led a precarious existence, persecuted and decimated by the Abbassides (750-1098) until the arrival of the Crusaders. However, the communities which remained on the plains and shores of the Orontes slowly dissolved" (114).

PART II

THE MARONITE CHURCH IN CONTACT WITH THE FRANKS AND WITH ROME FROM THE 12th TO THE 16th CENTURY

CHAPTER ONE

THE PERIOD OF THE CRUSADES

M. Ristelhueber states: "Syria during many centuries was transformed into a vast closed camp. Under the Ommayyads it was the center of the Arab Empire and the Moslem world, but under the Abbassides who transferred their capital from Damascus to Baghdad, it was only a simple province far from all the intrigues and disturbances. It became a prey in a terrible and extraodinary conflict, the Bedouins and the Byzantine emperors taking the offensive, the Seljuk Turks and the Crusaders each in their turn battling the Fatimite Califs of Cairo. Almost without ceasing, Syria was taken and retaken, during three long centuries, and put to fire and blood. During these vicissitudes of which history offers few examples, it became the 'crossroads of nations,' sometimes divided, sometimes united, it changed masters many times, but its ephemeral rulers were always installed by war. In the presence of these continual battles, the Maronites reinforced their military organization in order to maintain their relative autonomy. As a result, the great property owners of Lebanon became chiefs who led their peasants as soldiers in battle; the landed aristocracy became a military aristocracy of emirs and sheiks. This evolution was only an adaptation of feudal and patriarchal customs because of the pressing urgency of these singularly troubled times. Obliged to fight to safeguard what independence remained to them, the Christians of Lebanon felt the necessity to unite their efforts more intimately and to group themselves to advantage, choosing one chief in order to better coordinate their defense. The events in Syria did not greatly change their condition. However, the arrival of the Crusaders had considerable repercussions" (115).

As we have shown, the Maronites marched with the Crusaders from the beginning. One can imagine their joy at seeing their brothers of the West, towards whom they had always turned their eyes and thoughts. As courageous and trained quides, and skilled archers, they were of particular help to the Crusaders. Father Lammens says: "Between the Maronites and the Franks, there was always a very great friendship" (116). This cordiality is easily explained when one remembers that the Maronites considered themselves in perfect communion with the faith of the Latin Church: Thomas of Kaphartab confirms this at the eve of the Crusades. A further proof of this conviction of the Maronites is found in the facility with which they adopted certain Latin usages, as their prelates wearing a ring, miter and cross, while the other Eastern Christians did not (117).

This identity of faith led the Maronites to frequent the Latin churches and to celebrate on their altars using the articles of the Western clergy (118). No doubt it was because of their common faith that they held a privileged position in the Latin states. "Right after the Franks, they were ranked before Jacobites and the Armenians, who in turn were ranked above the Greeks, Nestorians, and Abyssinians. They were admitted into the middle class and were allowed to possess lands and enjoy the privileges that the Frankish middle class enjoyed" (119).

According to William of Tyre, the Maronite Church at this time had 40,000 people. Were women counted in this number? It seems not. The custom at that time in Syria as it remained for many centuries, was not to count the feminine element when numbering the population.

One of the result of the Crusades was the opening of the road to Rome for the Maronites. Since their Patriarchate was formed at a time when all communication with the West was cut off, they were scarcely able to maintain relations with the Holy See. The principal document which shows the establishment of relations between Rome and the Maronites, thanks to the Crusaders, is a letter of Gabriel Ibn al-Qela'i to Patriarch Simon of Hadeth. It was written in 1494, to urge

the Patriarch to request pontifical confirmation of his election, and it relied on Maronite tradition. He states: "One cannot object that this custom is an innovation, invented by me. There are more than fifteen papal letters bearing their seals which give testimony and which are preserved in the archives of our Monastery. They contain professions of faith going back more than 282 years. Your own profession of faith is found in Rome where it was brought by Gryphon and the Brothers Alexander and Simon. Father John, Superior of Beyrouth, delegated by your Patriarch John Al-Gagi, has done the same at the Council of Florence, and before him Aimeric of the Brothers Preachers and Cardinal William, legate of the Pope to your people. The leaders of the clergy and of the nation, the Patriarch, at that time Gregory of Halat (first half of the twelfth century), met in his presence: all swore in writing to remain always attached to the See of Rome. When King Godfrey had taken Jerusalem, he sent this news to Rome. His ambassadors were joined by envoys of the Patriarch Joseph Al-Gargasi, and they brought back a cross and miter. From the time of Queen Constance (wife of Robert, king of Sicily), one began the use of bells in Lebanon, according to the way of the Western Church: up to that time they had used wood for the calling to the hours of the Office as the Greeks do. When this princess bought the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem, the Tomb of Mary, the Mount of Olives and the Sanctuary of Bethlehem for 80,000 dinars, she gave to the Maronites the Grotto of the Cross and many altars in other churches in the Holy City, permitting them to celebrate on the altars of the Franks using their articles, adding besides pontifical confirmation to all their privileges. In a meeting of Maronites held in Jerusalem, all committed themselves solemnly to remain closely united to the Roman communion..." (120).

The information contained in this letter is too precise to be disputed. Besides, Ibn al-Qela'i indicates his sources of information; the archives of the Maronite Patriarchate and those of Saint Peter in Rome. Besides, the vividness of this narration supposes that the facts related are so known that no one would try to deny or contest them. Furthermore,

some of these facts are attested to by Jacques de Vitry and illustrated by certain paintings which decorated the apses of the two Maronite churches of Ma'ad and Bhadidat. These paintings, dating before the thirteenth century, show Saint (John) Maron and Saint Cyprian vested with the pallium and wearing a miter. They existed still at the time of Douaihi (d. 1704); he has told us himself (120a). The elders of the village of Ma'ad declared to Father Lammens some years ago that, in removing the rubble of their church, they found among other paintings, the painting of Saint John Maron (121).

A history of the Maronite Church during this period would be very incomplete if we did not indicate the list of Patriarchs. In the twelfth century there were Joseph al-Gergesi Peter, Gregory of Halat, Jacob of Ramat, Peter, John of Lehphed, Peter, Peter, Peter, Jeremias al-'Amchiti. Except for Jeremias, we do not know the date of election or death.

The first is mentioned in the letter of Ibn al-Qela'i, cited above. He received a letter from Urban II which was still to be found during the reign of Douaihi (d. 1704) in the archives of the patriarchal residence of Qannoubin (122). The name of his successor is consigned to a note written in 1121 in fol. 262 of a Syriac manuscript which, at the time of Douaihi, was preserved at Qannoubin, but which was transported by Assemani to the Vatican Library (122a). It figures also in a Syriac inscription which was written above the window of the ancient Monastery of Maifouq (123).

The memory of Gregory of Halat has been perpetuated thanks to the letter of Ibn al-Qela'i, that we have cited, and to a Syriac inscription in the Church of Ramat, reproduced by Renan (124).

The reign of Jacob of Ramat is attested in a note written by hand in 1141 on the Syriac manuscript cited above (125). Jacob was succeeded by Peter (126). Peter was replaced by John of Lehphed, author of a Syriac anaphora known by his name (127).

After John of Lephed, there were, according to Assemani, three patriarchs named Peter (128). After them,

about 1199 came Jeremias al-'Amchiti. He was the first Patriarch that made the visit *ad limina* (i.e. to Rome) in 1213. He assisted at the Fourth Council of the Lateran. The remembrance of his presence in the Eternal City has been perpetuated at Saint Peter's by a painting showing him as having performed a miracle. This paintings, restored in 1655 by order of Innocent X was found still at Saint Peter's when Douaihi was in Rome (129). It was during Jeremias' reign that Innocent III addressed the Bull *Quia Divinae Sapientiae* to the Maronite Church. On his return to Lebanon, Jeremias undertook liturgical reform, especially the reform of the pontifical of ordinations (130). He died in 1230 (131).

In the thirteenth century, we find, after Jeremias, Daniel of Schamat, John, Simon, Jacob, Daniel of Hadschit and Jeremias originally from the village of Demalsa.

Daniel of Schamat was elected in 1230; he was still alive in 1236 (132).

We do not know the date of the reign of John. Douaihi attests his existence as shown in the patriarchal archives (133). But a document of 1239 gives us some details about him: he was originally from the village of Jaje and resided at the Monastery of Maiphouq (134).

As for Simon, he was Patriarch in 1245 and was still alive in 1277 as appears in two notes cited by Douaihi (135). He received many pontifical letters, of which the first was *De Supremis Coelorum* (August 9, 1246). It was written on the occasion of the apostolic mission in the East of Father Lorenzo of Orte. Then in 1256, Alexander IV again sent to him, to the bishops, clergy and Maronite faithful the Bull *Quia Divinae Sapientiae* that Innocent III had already addressed to them (136).

The name of Jacob, successor of Simon, is given us by a Syriac inscription engraved in 1588 above the window of the ancient Monastery of Maiphouq (137). Daniel of Hadschit succeeded him, and, according to Douaihi, received in 1280 the bull of confirmation, a reproduction of *Quia Divinae Sapientiae* of Innocent III. Also, his portrait was placed in the church of his village of Hadschit and shows him on his knees,

dressed in sacred regalia and pontifical pallium, the miter on his head, and the ring on his finger, and receiving from the Apostle Peter the pastoral staff (138). Finally, Jeremias succeeded Daniel in 1282. Two documents speak of this Patriarch. The first is cited above. The second, dated February 26, 1282, is translated in French by Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades* (139).

The Crusades gave the opportunity for frequent comings and goings between Rome and Syria. We have cited certain pontifical letters addressed to the Maronites during this period. There have certainly been others of which we do not know. According to Ibn al-Qela'i, the patriarchal archives contained in 1494 more than 15 letters sent by the Holy See. We know only of eight or nine.

The relations of the Popes with the Maronites were not limited to the exchange of letters. There were also on one side and the other the exchange of missions. The Catholics of Lebanon had more than one visit of Pontifical legates. There were legates of Innocent II and then of Innocent III.

In 1246 following the First Council of Lyons, Innocent IV charged the Franciscan, Lorenzo da Orteto, to visit in his name the various Eastern Churches and to decide certain questions. The Pope announced this legation with the letter *De Supremis Coelorum* of August 9, 1246, addressed to the respective heads of these Churches (140). The Maronites were included in this mission and to this end, the Pope sent a copy of his letter to their Patriarch (141). This mission signals the first relations of the Maronite Church with the Franciscan Order (142).

We have spoken above about the Maronites who went to Rome (142a).

The action of Cardinal Peter of Amalfi, legate of Innocent III, marks the beginning of the official latinization of Maronite discipline. Innocent III wrote to the Maronites: "Having seen that you were lacking in certain things, the Cardinal took care to supplement them by the fullness of his apostolic authority in ordering you...to use at Baptism the form which consists in triple immersion but one invocation of the Trinity;

to have bishops alone administer the sacrament of Confirmation; not to use any substance other than balsam and oil in the preparation of chrism... Being obedient sons you have accepted all these things with humility and submission. Approving these prescriptions and ordering that they be inviolably observed, we take you, Brothers and Sons... with the churches constituted in your provinces, under the protection of the Blessed Peter and ourselves...and we decree that the prelates located in the Maronite territories wear the vestments and the insignia that are proper to them, according to the manner of the Latins, and conforming in all things and with more care to the customs of the Roman Church" (143).

Alexander IV and Nicholas III addressed the same letter to the Maronites. In view of these pontifical insistences, the Patriarchs, such as Jeremias and Daniel of Hadschit, wished to adopt the instructions of Rome; they tried to put them into practice (144). But, how this reform, conceived in the spirit of latinization and prepared by the action of the Crusaders, developed, especially in some exterior details of secondary importance, we shall see later.

The era of the Crusades produced a veritable renaissance of the Maronite Church. The movements in religious art furnish us a proof. "Except for the Roman period, no other time has seen such activity in Syria. Each town wished to have its own church, caravansary and baths. From this era date numerous churches following the fortresses that covered the country" (145).

The Maronites did not remain strangers to this artistic activity. Renan states: "The churches of Hattoun, Maiphouq, Helta, Scheptin, Toula, Bhadidat, Ma'ad, Khoura, Semar-Jebail belonged to the Syrian art form out of the Byzantine, and offer a subject for researches in the medieval Syrian archeology of Lebanon. Hattoun and Maiphouq possess, besides, Syriac inscriptions, one of which gives us the date of the construction of the Church of Our Lady of Maiphouq, which was completed in 1276. The church of Ma'ad, and those of Bhadidat, Kafar Schleiman and Naous contain well-preserved Syrian paintings which are of great interest

and are an important complement to the history of Byzantine art" (146). Renan says that the church of Bhadidat "is worthy of note. It is ancient and the paintings which decorate its interior are very precious specimens of Syrian art. Especially, one points out the cherubim bearing the *Trisagion* written in beautiful estranghelo characters" (147). We can add to these churches those of Reschkida, Abdelleh, Schamat, Edde, and Saint George of Ehden (148).

These indications suffice to point out the development produced by the Crusades.

The fall of Jerusalem (1244) brought about the coming of Saint Louis, King of France. The figure of Saint Louis IX remains very popular among the Maronites and the remembrance of his passage through Syria is filled, even now, with touching legend (149).

In 1254, after the death of his mother, Saint Louis decided to return to France. The Christian principalities found themselves in a very precarious position: his departure marked the beginning of their rapid deterioration.

The Franks already formed a very large group in Lebanon; their compatriots who were driven back by invasion came to join them. They approached the mountains, convinced that they would have a cordial reception from the Maronites. They were received with hospitality. Alexander IV gives witness to the devotion of the Maronites on this occasion (Cf. Benedict XIV in the consistorial of July 13, 1744).

The Franks, having organized a center of defense in Lebanon, tried to hold it. But their resistance did not last for very long. The force of the Sultan of Egypt, Baibars, raged against the mountain people. In 1267, Upper Lebanon was destroyed by the incursions of troops. Makrizi (Arab historian, 1364-1442) reports: "The troops stormed many caves and presented the prisoners and booty to the Sultan. He commanded that the captives be decapitated, the trees cut, and the churches destroyed" (150).

Before the Saracen power, the Franks were obliged to abandon little by little the last vestiges of their rule. Castles

fell one after the other. In 1277 "only the places of Margat, Tripoli, Sagetta and Acra remained, but not for very long. Beginning with 1288, each year marked the fall of another town. The last rampart of Latin conquest, Saint John of Acre, fell shortly after Baruth (1291)" (151).

A good number of Maronites grouped around their Patriarch and established at Hadeth (North Lebanon) the center of their resistance. But the Patriarch himself was soon captured and the invader considered this prize as "a conquest more important than that of a considerable fortress" (152).

The loss of the Latin states caused the conquered to look to the island of Cyprus, acquired in May, 1192 by Guy de Lusignan. He had opened the doors of this island not only to Franks chased from their domains, but to the Christians of Syria who, molested by the conqueror, looked elsewhere for refuge. Many Maronites followed the movement of immigration to Cyprus. They "did not mix with the inhabitants of the island. They preferred the high places of the north of Nicosia, and there, in that setting which recalled for them their mountains of Lebanon, they lived, preserving their culture and guarding their simple and familial customs. Encouraged by the kings of Cyprus, their colony became prosperous and relatively numerous: it counted up to 72 villages" (153). According to Stephen Lusignan, they formed the most numerous community on the island after the Greeks (154). It was necessary to give them a bishop of their own rite. We know that in 1340 a Maronite bishop existed in Cyprus (155). The immigration of the Maronites to Cyprus did not stop with its loss by Lusignan. Under the Venetians, Maronites still came from all parts of Lebanon (156). This continued up to the invasion of the Turks (1570-71) who reduced the Maronite colony considerably as we shall see later.

The Maronite immigration also extended to the island of Rhodes. It probably took place when, after the Crusades, the Hospitalers went there to establish their center of action (157).

CHAPTER TWO

THE DOMINATION OF THE MAMLOUKS

The year 1291 marked the definitive loss of the last remnants of the Latin kingdom. From that time, Syria was under the domination of the Mamlouks up to the Ottoman conquest (1516).

Again, the territory of the Maronites was separated from the West. The new rulers, obsessed with the silhouette of Frankish ships which did not cease to cruise in view of the coasts, and continually fearing some new descent of the Latins, kept a jealous eye on the relations of their Christian subjects with any foreign countries. Every attempt at relations with the former masters of Syria was considered as unpardonable treason, a plot against the security of the state. Anyone who evoked suspicion would risk attracting to himself redoubled hardship and dearly paying the consequences (158). Besides, the intransigence of the Mamlouk sultans in this regard is shown in official documents. The certificate of investiture that was given to the Melkite Patriarch forbade rigorously any relations with foreigners. "He is to guard carefully from hiding any letter addressed to him from a foreign monarch or to write to any or do any similar thing. He is to avoid the sea..." (159). To these difficulties were added geographical obstacles, successive revolutions and Mongol invasions. It can be easily understood why during this period of Urban IV to Eugene IV there were no letters exchanged between Rome and the Maronite Patriarch. It is necessary to await the cessation of the Frankish peril and the coming of missionaries to Lebanon, to see a reopening of long-interrupted relations.

The Mamlouks divided the country into six jurisdictions, each of which was called a *mamlakat* (kingdom) or *niabat* (vicariate): Damascus, Aleppo, Hamat, Tripoli, Safad, Karak (Transjordan). The head of each *mamlakat* bore the name of *naib* (viceroy).

The Maronites, grouped in northern Lebanon, organized themselves again under the direction of their Patriarch and clergy. They divided themselves into many districts headed by chiefs taken from within the nation, and called *mouqaddamin*. This organization gave them a certain autonomy. The *mouqaddamin* were responsible to the *niabat* of Tripoli, and administered according to their manner the temporal affairs of the community; their office even became hereditary. They were generally ordained subdeacons (a minor order for the Maronites) so that they would have a right of precedence over laity in the Church (160).

In the fourteenth century, the number of Maronites had become important. At this time, Ludolph of Suchem described Lebanon as "covered with a considerable number of towns and villages, each inhabited by an immense multitude of Christians" (161).

The Patriarchs of this period were Simon, John, Gabriel of Hajjoula, who died for the Faith in 1367, and David who took the name of John (162).

In the fifteenth century, the question of the East took a prominent place in Roman thinking. Eugene IV and Callistus III paid particular attention (163).

The popes organized a plan for apostolic conquest, in which missionaries would play the principal role. They reserved to the Franciscans a particularly important activity in Syria.

The Maronites were not forgotten. While being Catholics, they were surrounded on all sides by infidels and heretics. They needed missionary help to sustain their faith and courage. The Franciscans showed that they were equal to the task. They visited the Maronites, they helped them in their struggles for religion, and served as intermediaries between them and the Pope. "During this era, one spoke

in all of Italy only of the reunion of the dissident Easterners to the Roman Church. November 22, 1439 Eugene IV rejoiced to receive the oath of fidelity of the Armenians. Their reunion was followed by that of the Greeks at the Council of Florence. At this time, there arrived at the Council Brother John, Superior of the Franciscans at Beyrouth. He came in the name of John Al-Jaji, Patriarch of Mount Lebanon, and made homage to the Vicar of Christ, assuring him that the head of the Maronite nation accepted in advance all the decisions of the assembly, claiming the privilege of the pallium, and confirmation of his election to the See of Antioch. On their part, the Maronites of Jerusalem had sent to Florence, the Franciscan, Father Albert.... In the first half of the fifteenth century, the celebrated Franciscan Anthony of Troia had traveled throughout the East, charged by the Popes with important missions to the Eastern Christians and especially to the people of Mount Lebanon. In 1444, he returned to Rome accompanied by delegates of the Maronites and the Druzes" (164).

In order to strengthen its authority in Syria, the Holy See wished to establish a representative with a permanent title. It created in 1444 the Apostolic Commissariat for the Maronites, Druzes, and Syrians (Melkites). Brother Peter of Ferrara of the Monatery of the Holy Savior of Beyrouth was made the first commissionar (165). Then Nicholas V gave this charge over the Maronites to Andrew, Archbishop of Nicosia (166).

The functions of the Apostolic Commisariat were given afterwards to Brother Gandolph of Sicily, guardian of Mount Sion. In going to the Maronites, he took with him, among other companions, Brother Cryphon (167). Zealous, of high intelligence, of large spirit and measure, of a refined culture and burning activity, Gryphon felt attracted to the missions of the Holy Land. Near the end of 1442, he was sent to Palestine. After having visited the churches of that region, he settled in Jerusalem, at the Monastery of Mount Sion. He studied Arabic and Syriac. In 1450, having been attached to the mission of Mount Lebanon, he left Jerusalem for

Beyrouth, accompanied by Brother Francis of Barcelona. With him he arrived at the Mountain and settled in the midst of the Maronites. He built new churches, and adopted liturgical reforms. Authors say: "he removed errors," which has led some to cry immediately that this referred to heresy. Father Lammens translates the Latin word "errores" as meaning abuses. "It was not evidently a question of doctrinal errors. The adversaries of Maronite orthodoxy should remember that, since the Council of Florence, the beliefs of the Maronites are absolutely irreproachable. It is a question of points of discipline not tied to the Faith, of abuses that can slip into the most strongly imbued Catholic principles. Besides, there were many localities in Lebanon inhabited by Jacobites. ... Perhaps Cryphon fought against books and opinions that the neighboring Jacobites had sown in the midst of the Maronite people. Thanks to the same language and a common liturgy, the points of contact were only too numerous and, according to Maronite writers, they were harmful to the purity of the faith. Whatever the disciplinary abuses or Jacobite errors, the efforts of Cryphon to root out these things were crowned with success" (168). Furthermore, this interpretation of Father Lammens is fully justified by a letter of Gryphon himself to the Maronites.

In spite of his vast erudition, Gryphon considered as abuses certain liturgical uses which were different from Western practices. Also, the reform of these "disorders" encountered a lively resistance on the part of the clergy and the faithful who were strongly attached to their ecclesiastical traditions. And, if one believes the Franciscan chroniclers, Gryphon, after an event that took place on the Feast of the Assumption, would have given reason for this resistance (169).

Gryphon went from Lebanon to Rome twice regarding matters relating to the Maronites. His first trip was during the time of Callistus III between 1455-58. The second which had for its purpose the confirmation of the new Patriarch, Ibn Hassan, took place in 1469. The question with which he dealt offered a good occasion to give testimony in favor of the Maronites.

He wrote from Rome to the Maronites:

My Dear Brothers: Our Lord Paul (II), Pope of Rome, Vicar of the Messiah, and successor of Saint Peter, has sent me to you to attest the belief of Peter, and I have come to witness that your belief conforms to his, that you are in accord with him and submitted to his See. I have furnished many proofs: 1) That your Patriarch, bishops, secular and regular clergy, and the laity, questioned by me, have given the above response. I am sure that they have no reticence and I would not be accused of lying before the Pope of Rome. 2) That there are throughout the world many unbelieving Christian sects. The Maronites, we know, have no accord neither with the unbelievers, nor the Nestorians, nor the Jacobites, nor the Greeks, but they consider all these sects as heterodox. 3) From time immemorial all the Maronites have solemnly mentioned the Roman Pontiff and have not included the personages of any other confessions. Your ancestors have established this custom, because they were in accord with the Pope of Rome and united in the same belief. 4) That in the territories of the Franks, Rhodes, Cyprus, Tripoli, Beyrouth, Jerusalem, the Maronites from antiquity have frequented the churches of the Franks; they celebrate on their altars with the same articles; they consecrate and make the sign of the cross as the Franks do; they confess and receive communion at the churches of the Franks and receive presents from them such as miters, etc.... Furthermore, more than 250 years ago, Patriarch Jeremias, his priest and people joined themselves to the faith of the Franks. This has been imitated by many Patriarchs, and in our time by John Al-Jaji and by the present officeholder, Peter, who resides at the Monastery of Qannoubin. May God protect you in this union and verify what I have attested to our holy Peter, Pontiff of Rome (170).

Gryphon returned to Lebanon invested with the power of representing the Holy See to the Maronites, and bringing to the Patriarch the brief of confirmation (171).

The last Patriarch of the fourteenth century was David, who took the name of John and died about 1404 (172). He was replaced in the same year by John Al-Jaji or Al-Gagi He was the Patriarch when Eugene IV sent letters calling for the Council of Union (173). The Patriarch sent Brother John, Superior of the Franciscans of Beyrouth, and charged him to demand pontifical confirmation for his election to the See of Antioch. Eugene IV sent the legate back with the letter of confirmation, the pallium, and some church ornaments which dates from 1439 among the manuscripts of the Vatican (*Vat. Arab.* 640, fol. 32-33).

Brother John did not delay in returning to Syria: he disembarked in Tripoli in October, 1439. The news of his arrival spread quickly throughout the country. A large number of Maronites came to welcome him. This manifestation aroused some suspicions in the *naib*. He believed that the Council of Florence was planning to reconquer the Holy Land. He arrested Brother John and his companions. Informed of this, the Patriarch, who was residing at Maiphouq, sent some notables of the nation to Tripoli. These took money with them and wanted to convince the *naib* that the missionaries had no political intent. He set them free, but it took the form of probation. Brother John and his companions went quickly to the Patriarch and from there had the ceremony of awarding the pallium at Beyrouth. Later, the *naib* thought that the legates had gone against his orders, and he acted against those who had guaranteed their conduct and against the Patriarch. The soldiers burned and pillaged everything in their way. They especially destroyed the Monastery of Maiphouq (174).

Following these sad events, John Al-Jaji transferred in 1440 his patriarchal residence to the Monastery of Qannoubin, situated in the deep valley called *Wadi Qadicha* (The Holy Valley), at the foot of the Mountain of the Cedars (175). At Qannoubin, the Patriarch was protected by the precipices of the valley.

A voyager of 1589, Lord Villamont, has given us a pictorial description of this ancient monastery, which had

become the center of Maronite life (176). A century later, in 1689, another voyager, M. de la Roque, completes this description of Qannoubin. He says: "It is a large building, very irregular, hewn into the rock: the church is dedicated to the Blessed Virgin... The rest of the building consists of the patriarchal apartment which is undistinguished, with many rooms for the religious... all is very poor..." (177).

The Monastery of Qannoubin still exists; it is guarded as if it were a relic by all the Patriarchs. It is there that the heads of the Maronite Church lived for three centuries, maintaining, in the shadow of their cloister, the flame of the Faith and the memory of their brothers in the West.

From Qannoubin, John Al-Jaji wrote to the Pope to renew his adhesion to the conciliar definitions of Florence, to thank him for his liberalities, and to tell him of the misfortunes that had attacked his people. The patriarchal letter was brought to Rome by Brother Peter of Ferrara. Eugene IV answered in December 16, 1441, praising the faith and virtue of the Patriarch. The *Bullarium Maronitarum* of Anaissi gives only the end of the letter (p. 13). We have found the entire text, translated in Arabic by Ibn al-Qela'i in the manuscript *Vat. Arab.* 640. It is also found in the Arabic in Douaihi (ms. *Vat. Syr.* 395, fol. 106 v°-107).

Al-Jaji died at Qannoubin in 1445. He had for a successor Jacob of Hadeth or Hadath who came from the hermitage of Saint Sergius. He received from Eugene IV the pallium and confirmation of his election (178). A letter of Callistus II, June 14, 1455 praises his faith and his devotion to the interests of the Church (179).

Nine days after the death of Jacob, on February 8, 1468, Peter called Ibn Hassan was elected to succeed him (180). Of a profound piety and remarkable integrity, the new head of the Maronites, followed the example of his predecessors, and professed fidelity to the See of Rome (Cf. the report sent to the Pope in 1475 by his commissioner to the Maronites, Brother Alexander of Arioste, in Marcellus de Civezza) (181). As soon as he was installed, he asked for pontifical confirmation. He gathered together the clergy and the people and

wrote with them letters of obedience, and Brother Gryphon, accompanied by two other Franciscans, brought them to Rome (182). When Peter died in 1492, he was succeeded by his nephew Simon or Simeon Ibn Hassan of Hadeth.

Douaihi portrays the Maronite territories as enjoying a certain tranquility during the second half of the fifteenth century, thanks to the activity and intelligence of the *mouqaddamin*. The Christians gathered together in large numbers. The village of Hadschit alone had 20 priests. In the churches of Becharri, the town of the cedars, there were as many altars as days in the year. Peace, although relative, attracted prosperity. As a consequence, there was a development of intellectual and moral forces. Schools were multiplied and churches augmented. Douaihi, examining the manuscripts, found that there were in this period more than 110 Maronite copyists. Catholicism itself was extended and many conversions took place during the time of Patriarch Peter Ibn Hassan (Cf. the report of Brother Alexander of Arioste, written at Qannoubin in 1475, in Marcellus of Civezza) (183).

It is true that the *mouqaddim* of Becharri, 'Abd al-Mon'em Ayoub II, caused some trouble in the Maronite Church during this time. Imbued from a young age with Monophysite principles he declared himself for the Jacobites and constructed a church for them near his home. They used the favor of this *mouqaddim* to help their sect. Having gotten some followers from among the Maronites, they wished to extend their sphere of influence. Patriarch Peter Ibn Hassan was alarmed and took measures to remove the danger and lead back those who had strayed. But his actions encountered obstacles from 'Abd al-Mon'em. The inhabitants of Ehden, known for their bravery, resorted to force, following a battle provoked by 'Abd al-Mon'em himself, they routed his followers and cleared the area of his agitators. This was in 1488. Seven years later (1495), 'Abd al-Mon'em died and equilibrium was restored under the direction of his son, who had remained faithful to the Faith of his ancestors (184).

The peace which Maronites enjoyed during this period was relative and intermittent. The Mamlouk authorities

remained and the *mouqaddamin* were not always able to protect their compatriots from the tyrannical measures that were decreed. The report sent from Qannoubin to the Pope in 1475 by the legate, Brother Alexander of Arioste, describes well the precarious state in which they found themselves and the cruel vexations that they underwent at times. "In the midst of this nation (Maronite) live the Saracens... Their tyranny knows no rest; also, in all the parts of Lebanon, there is only desolation, provoking tears. Under the pretext of raising a certain tribute that they call *gelia*, they (the agents of the authority) despoil the poor mountain people of all that they have; afterwards, they beat them with rods, inflicting all sorts of torments to extort from them what they do not have. Against these vexations, there is only one recourse possible, apostasy. Many might have fallen if it had not been for the charity of their pious Patriarch (Peter Ibn Hassan) who came to their aid. Dismayed at the peril to the souls of his sheep, he gave over all the revenues of his churches to satisfy the greed of the tyrants. The door of the (patriarchal) monastery was walled up; sometimes he was obliged to hide, as Popes Urban and Sylvester, in the caves hollowed out of the earth" (185).

The figure which dominates the Maronite history of the fifteenth century is that of Gabriel Ibn al-Qela'i (or Barcleius, Benclaius, Bar Qlai, Alai). He was born about 1450 in the village of Lehphed in the province of Jebail. During his mission to Lebanon, Brother Gryphon chose him with two other Maronites to enter the Order of Saint Francis. After their religious profession at Jerusalem, all three went to Venice and Rome to complete their studies (186). They were the first Maronites sent to the West for studies. Having returned to Lebanon, Brother Gabriel served his people by instructing them and making the Faith clear. He battled against the Jacobites and was not afraid to go to 'Abd al-Mon'em and to accuse him to his face of having betrayed the religion of his fathers (187). In the space of three years he wrote 456 letters to unmask the errors of the Monophysites, as he says himself (188). He excelled in the composition of

zajaliat (type of popular poems). We have some specimens (189). He composed and translated into Arabic many works of theology, history, canon law, etc (190). Besides we have from him an Arabic version of eight pontifical letters addressed to the Maronites. (The version of these letters is found in the Vatican in *Cod. Vat. Arab.*640, fol. 26-37.) In 1507 he was consecrated Bishop of Nicosia for the Maronites of Cyprus and remained in his See until his death in 1516 (191).

Ibn al-Qela'i was the first Maronite to read the Latin works on the religious origins of his nation. He defended with vigor the perpetual orthodoxy of the Maronites and his example was followed by later writers. He exercised a profound influence on the life of the Maronite Church. He is considered among the principal precursors of the effective Latinization of the liturgy and discipline.

CHAPTER THREE

THE MARONITES OF CYPRUS

The establishment of the first Maronite groups in Cyprus was accomplished in the ninth century. But the documents which affirm their existence in a positive fashion date from 1121, 1141, and 1154. They inform us that in the first years of the twelfth century, a Maronite monastery, that of Saint John of Kouzbande (192), was already established on the island. But, the construction of a monastery in such a region where the monks would live far from the ecclesiastical and national center is not explained without the presence of a colony of their faithful. Only the service of their people would attract them to a strange land. A great number of Maronites came following the Crusades (193).

According to Stephen of Lusignan, the Maronites formed on the island the most numerous community after the Greeks (194). It was necessary to give them a bishop of their rite. We know that in 1340 there existed on Cyprus a Maronite bishop (195) as we have said.

In the fifteenth century, the Maronites of Cyprus were accused of Monothelitism. It is claimed that their conversion took place under Eugene IV on the occasion of the Council of Union. What can we say of this accusation?

The Council had already transferred from Florence to the Lateran when the Pope confided to Andrew of Colosses the mission of announcing in the East the union concluded and of explaining its terms to the Christian populations of these countries. The Pope states:

> After the union was concluded at the Council of Florence, between the Eastern and Western Church, after the

> conversation of the Armenians, Jacobites, and the people of Mesopotamia, we have sent to the countries of the East and the island of Cyprus our venerable brother Andrew, Archbishop of Colosses, in order to strengthen them in the Faith, by his preaching and by the exposition and explanation of the decrees proclaimed for the union and conversion of the Greeks, Armenians and Jacobites who reside there, and to try to lead back to the truth of the Faith, by his advice and exhortations the followers of other sects, which he will encounter and which he will find are removed from orthodox doctrine, that is, the followers of Nestorius and Macarius (196).

The first duty of the apostolic legate was therefore to learn about the different sects in question. He read the Latin authors, such as William of Tyre and Jacques de Vitry; he sees in the Maronites the followers of Macarius. But when the Maronite bishop Elias accepted the profession of faith presented by the legate, as did the Nestorian metropolitan Timothy of Tarsus, the legate interpreted this adhesion as a conversion from heresy and attributed the merit to himself.

The report of this claimed conversion of the Maronites of Cyprus does not seem to conform to reality. First, it does not accord with the inscriptions, one of which is contemporaneous with Eugene IV and the other which is the epitaph of his tomb. These two inscriptions enumerate without the least allusion to the Maronites, the Christian communities which had returned to the Catholic Church during his pontificate. The text is in Mansi (197).

Besides, the history of the Maronites of Cyprus excludes such a conversion. They had always been in perfect communion with the Faith of their brothers in Lebanon; there was only one Patriarch for all of them. A few of the documents show this sufficiently:

1. In the twelfth century, the Patriarch named the superiors of the Maronite monks of Cyprus (198).

2. The scribes who copied at Cyprus the books of the Church wrote along with the name of the bishop of the island, that of the Patriarch during whose reign the copy was executed. We have an example in a manuscript of 1357 (199).

3. According to the testimony of Douaihi, the Patriarch consecrated the bishop of Cyprus; he sent him the holy chrism; he sent a legate every ten years to visit the island and receive the tithes (200).

All of this indicated that the Maronites of Cyprus were under the Patriarch of Lebanon. The orthodoxy of the Patriarch was not contested during this period as the letter of Eugene IV of December 16, 1441 shows, and Leo X wrote in 1515 to *mouqaddim* Elias giving the same testimony (201-202).

Furthermore, a provincial council held in Cyprus in 1340 was made up of the Latin and Eastern Catholic and non-Catholic bishops. Among the bishops of the East was George, Bishop of the Maronites. A formula of profession of faith proper to the East was condemned. There is no mention of Monothelitism. If the faith of the Maronite Cypriots had been suspect, the Fathers of the council would not have failed to add to this formula the doctrine of the two wills as they proclaimed the doctrine of one person and two natures in Christ (203). How is it possible that the Maronites would have become Monothelites a century later? There is no document that could be cited before the Council of Florence to support this assertion.

Finally, in the constitution *Benedictus Sit Deus* of Eugene IV there is the statement: "These aforesaid prelates (Metropolitan Timothy and the Maronite Bishop) and their clergy are able to celebrate the liturgy in the Catholic churches, and the Catholics in their churches." It would seem to imply that before this time the Maronite and Nestorian clergies were not allowed to celebrate the liturgy in Catholic churches. But, we know from the letter of Fra Gryphon, written in 1469, that "in the territories of France, Rhodes, and *Cyprus*... the Maronites, from ancient times, frequent the churches of the Franks and *celebrate* on their altars with the same articles."

The Franks would certainly not have admitted the Maronites to officiate in their churches, if there were heretics in their number. There is no need to add anything further to question the accuracy of the information given on the Maronites by the legate Andrew of Colosses.

PART III

THE MARONITES UNDER THE OTTOMANS

CHAPTER ONE

CIVIL HISTORY

To aid in understanding better the chain of historical events, it is necessary to recall briefly the political situation in Syria during the Ottoman period, after which we will resume the religious history (204).

In 1516, the Ottomans, under the direction of Selim I, conquered Syria.

The new ruler preserved at first the ancient administrative bodies, the *niabat* of the Mamlouks. But, afterwards, he modified them. He divided the country into three *pachaliks*: Damascus, Aleppo, and Tripoli. These *pachaliks* were governed by *beylerbeys* and each comprised a certain number of *sandjaqs* or prefectures. The conciliar reports of the end of the sixteenth century reveal the existence of these three large jusirdictions.

The *pachalik* of Tripoli was particularly important from a strategic point of view. The *pacha* or *beylerbey* of this jurisdiction had to watch the sea, the region of the Nosairis (Alaouites), Lebanon, and the grand coastal route leading into the interior. In 1660, a new *pachalik* was created, that of Saida (Sidon) to watch over the south of Mount Lebanon. From that time the surveillance of Lebanon was divided between the *pachas* of Tripoli and Saida.

These territorial divisions were maintained up to the organization of Syria into *wilayets* (general governments), *moutassarrifats* (prefectures), and *qaimaqamats* (subprefectures) in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The history of Syria during this period can be summarized in this way: administrative anarchy, a series of intrigues and quarrels among the *pachas*, indigenous dynasties, a chain of extortions, vexations, and killings (205).

With the arrival of Selim I, Syria was a spectacle of a curious mixture of races and religions. "Everywhere there were small local dynasties, maintained by individual emirs: Banou Harfouch in the Beqaa, B. Saif in the region of Tripoli, Bedouin sheiks in Palestine, Kurdish emirs, Turkomans, and Arabs in the folds of Lebanon. The Ottomans did not have the force to remove these semi-autonomies. In imitation of the Seljuks and the Mamlouks, they considered them as vassals and expected them to pay taxes of *miri*, to furnish a military contingent, and not to encroach on territories directly exploited by agents of the sultan. Under these conditions, the divan permitted them to ransom their own subjects, to fight among themselves, to perpetuate the state of anarchy which would make the subjection of the country easier" (206).

At this time, the Maronites, massed in the northern part of Lebanon, belonged politically to the circle of Tripoli. But, as happened after the conquest of Syria by the Osmanli Turks, and as under the Mamlouks of Egypt, they continued to be governed directly by their *mouqaddamin*, of whom the one of Becharri exercised a sort of predominance. The role of the *mouqaddamin* consisted principally in raising the tax. They were subcollectors under the Moslem collector appointed by the sultan. This combination offered certain advantages, especially the avoidance of harm; but it scarcely removed the extortions. This Maronite structure soon underwent a serious crisis. The office of *mouqaddam* ceased to be hereditary. There arose a group of competitors who disputed among themselves before the Turks for these offices. About 1655 the government of the principal Maronite district, that of Becharri, was conferred on the Metoualite or Shiite family of Hamada, who had risen above its coreligionists of North Lebanon, and forced a number of the Maronites to flee to the south of Nahr Ibrahim, the ancient river Adonis, and to the villages of the coast. The first Hamada governors were just and good administrators, but their successors adopted an entirely opposite direction, and imposed much oppression. The Maronites were

forced to emigrate and a majority of them took refuge in the district of Kasrawan (207).

The consequences of these events and the conditions under which the Turks allowed individual emirs to function permitted a Lebanese family, that of Ma'n, to increase its base of power. "What is the origin of this Lebanese family? Was it Arab or Kurd in origin? When in the seventeenth century, the biographer Mohibbi collected mementos of the Ma'nis, he found a disagreement on the genealogies of their ancestors... He is certain that they were neither Tanoukhites, nor newcomers into the Chouf (South Lebanon), the domain of their family... They seemed to have adhered to the teachings of the Druzes. This assured them of the sympathies of the Druzes of Lebanon and Waddittaim. In the latter district, they concluded an alliance with the Emirs Chihab, who were Moslems of Arab origin" (208).

During the epoch of the Ottoman conquest, the Ma'ni were the first among the Lebanese emirs. "The role of the Maronites, unfortunately disunited during this time, was eclipsed by the growing ascendancy of the chiefs of this family, who wanted to monopolize all of Lebanon for their profit. This resulted from the valor and the genius of one of them, Fakhr-ed-din II (1598-1635), the great Emir of the Mountain, whose reign marked the peak of Lebanese power. Having escaped by a miracle from the vengeance of the Ottoman troops and hidden by his mother in the Christian district of Kesrouan, in the heart of Lebanon, he was raised by the care of the Maronite family of Khazen... Under his reign, Lebanon found a prosperity and peace unknown up to that time, which allowed arts and letters to shine forth. But intoxicated with success, Fakhr-ed-din aspired for independence. Attacked on all sides, abandoned by his allies, tracked in the high mountain, he turned himself over to his conquerors: they had him decapitated at Constantinople. His power was broken up, but he had created a political union in Lebanon and sealed the union of Maronites and Druzes" (209).

Under Fakhr-ed-din II, the Christians benefited from

his protection. His principal advisor, one could say his prime minister, was a Maronite, Abou-Nader el Khazen.

During his exile in Italy (1613-1618), Fakhr-ed-din had relations with Maronite scholars who resided there; and later, one of them, Abraham Echellenis served as his intermediary before the court of the Medicis (210).

Lammens (211) gives various proofs of the religious tolerance of the "Prince of Saida," as the emir was called. This tolerance and peace existed, as we shall see later, only in those areas where the authority of the emir could be fully exercised. And when his power was broken up, the reprisals of his enemies and the detestable rivalries of his followers destroyed his work and unleashed on Lebanon new bloody battles (212). The Metoualis, especially, supported by the *pachas* of Tripoli, attacked the Christian areas of North Lebanon. This situation caused more emigration of the Maronites to the south; many settled in the midst of the Druzes and even the Metualis, whose sheiks were more favorable than those in the north (213).

However, the reign of Fakhr-ed-din was not without faults, which affected the milieu in which he lived (214).

The succession of the Grand Emir of the Mountain was officially conferred on the 'Alamaddin. But they were so unpopular that they were expelled and the Ma'ni were re-established. The emir Molham (1635-1657), then Ahmad (d. 1697) governed Lebanon, but with a precarious authority, under the strict surveillance of the sultan. Also, in spite of their desire to recover the liberal traditions of their illustrious ancestor, they were often constrained to follow the customs of the neighboring *pachas*. The author of the life of Saint Vincent says: "In the preceding year (1658), a Capuchin priest came from Mount Lebanon to Paris to search for some remedy for the vexations that the Maronite Christians suffered from the Turks. As he knew the land better than anyone, he judged that to halt the persecution it was necessary to depose the governor of Lebanon, an avaricious and cruel man, and to put in his place a man who

favored the Christian religion. The project seemed good enough, but there were difficulties, and besides, to execute it it was necessary to have 12,000 ecus, an enormous sum, at a time when even the best families were drained" (215).

Emir Ahmed died on September 15,1697. At that time, Turkey was going through a severe political crisis. Occupied with defending its possessions in Europe, the sultan was not in a condition to intervene in Lebanon to break up entirely the autonomy that the Ma'ni had left, and to appoint an emir of his choice. On the contrary, he was more interested in sparing the Lebanese and gaining their sympathy in order to avoid the risks of a military expedition into Syria. He was content with the promise of annual tribute, and to authorize in exchange that the leaders of the mountain choose the governor. The raising of taxes was important for him since he judged that his prestige was assured by the reception of taxes. The lords of Lebanon met at Somqannya (between Deir-el-Qamar and Mokhtara) to designate the successor of Ahmad. The choice fell naturally on the Emirs Chihab, friends and allies of the Ma'ni family (216). Having been invested with the succession of the Ma'n, the Chihab carried out the affairs with the competence of administrators and skilled diplomats. They sought to renew good relations with the *pachas* of Tripoli and Saida, who were charged by Istanbul with surveillance of Lebanon. To increase their popularity, they increased the number of emirs and sheiks.

In 1711, the new governor Haidar Chihab brought about a feudal reform in the Mountain. The Maronite nobility took part in the division of the fiefs. From this nobility some were chosen to take part in the direction of the country. Besides the Khazen, there were the Hobaich, the Dahdah, the Khoury, the Bitar, etc. The new state of affairs served only to bolster the confidence of the Maronite directors and activate their appetite for action. The government of North Lebanon was still in the hands of the Metoualis. It was necessary to remove this foreign element from Maronite districts and to charge the nobility of the

nation with assuring order and the administration of justice. In 1777, the enterprise was completed and the handling of affairs was given to the sheiks of the region, such as the Koram, the 'Aouad, the Daher, etc. (217).

At that summit of this feudal hierarchy, the Chihab held the rights of suzerainty.

The most remarkable event of this period was that a group of Chihab received Baptism and joined the Maronite Church. Other emirs followed their example, e.g. the Bellama, situated at the head of the region of Matn. The first Christian prince who presided over the destiny of Lebanon was Youssof, son of Molham, who was proclaimed emir of all the Mountain in the National Assembly of Barouk (1770). Nevertheless, in the eyes of the Druzes he was officially considered a Druze and in the eyes of the Moslems a disciple of the Prophet. It was necessary to await the coming of the emir Bechir II (1789-1840) to see a Prince of Lebanon who would declare publicly his Christian faith. This took place during and after the Egyptian occupation (1831-40) (218).

The adherence of the emirs to the Christian religion and the entry of the local nobility into the government of the country contributed notably to the prosperity of the Maronite Church: the temporal chiefs of the people made a large number of donations and pious foundations. These liberalities sometimes provoked an abuse of authority; the secular power sometimes went beyond the limits of its competence. The emir Youssof interfered with the pastoral jurisdiction of the Patriarch (219).

Thanks to their political intelligence, the Chihab acquired a strong influence with the neighboring Turkish authorities. They used their prestige for the service of Lebanon which they maintained as a land of refuge (220). During this time, Mount Lebanon, compared with the other territories of Syria, could be considered as a land of refuge. But, in reality, the peace that they enjoyed was precarious and intermittent, and at the mercy of the neighboring *pachas*. The *pachas* always watched for an opportunity to mix in the affairs of the Mountain, and their interference caused

trouble and disorder. Besides, politics, rival factions, divisions among the emirs aroused a spirit of anarchy. From this came extortions, affronts, turmoils of all sorts, battles of the different groups (221). The Maronites were hardly spared; they were at times left at the mercy of their enemies (222). Sometimes, in certain regions, such as the province of Kasrawan under the Khazen, the enemy could not overcome easily. It was there during these bad days that the Maronites took refuge, as we shall see later.

In spite of the behavior, sometimes barbarous, of certain emirs, the Chihab did well in the country. They worked without ceasing for its independence and security. Their political power lasted up to the fall of Bachir II (1840). It is true that his successor was Bachir III, also a Chihab. But the terms of the *firman* of investiture of September 3, 1840 show that, in the mind of the sultan, this nomination was only a transitional move. Bachir III was no longer the ruler of Lebanon as his predecessors had been (223). The sultan envisioned the annihilation of Lebanese autonomy which had always been a difficulty and danger for him. He was not able to bring this about by brute force, so it was necessary to proceed in steps. He exploited the clumsiness of Bachir III and the troubles and tragic events which marked his government (224).

Discharged by the envoy of Istanbul, Moustapha Pacha, Minister of War, he was the last Chihab who governed Lebanon. Omar Pacha, a Hungarian, was named to take his place in January, 1842. His tyranny and brutality, the seriousness of his errors, and his clumsiness obliged Istanbul, because of many objections by the leaders, to recall him. But, during this time, the Sultan had sowed among the Lebanese populations powerful seeds of discord and had caused a deep division between the Christians and the Druzes. In this way, there was a serious pretext for opposing the re-establishment of the Emirate of Lebanon. "These attempts could have been stopped by an *entente* of the great powers. Unfortunately, their own lack of union, and esespecially, the rivalry of France and England aided the

maneuvers of the Sultan. Faithful to its traditions, the French government did not cease to support the claims of the Maronites for an autonomous Lebanon which would be undivided and under the Chihab. Because of the opposition of England, Lebanon was divided into two governments, the one, Maronite, in the North and the other, Druze, in the South" (225).

These circumstances led to a deplorable system of double *qaimaqamat* or government, that of the Christians north of the Beyrouth-Damascus road, and that of the Druzes to the south. The Christians formed the large majority of the North; but if the Druzes were numerous in the South, the Christian population was also considerable; there were many mixed villages. The two *qaimaqams* were named and installed January 1, 1843.

Being purely artificial, the delimitation, far from putting an end to the troubles and anarchy, increased them. The Patriarch and 336 Maronite chiefs delegated P. Azar, vicar-general of the Archbishop of Sidon (situated in the Druze *qaimaqamat*), to go and speak of their misfortunes to the Christians of Europe and to plead their cause before European governments.

P. Azar left Beyrouth at the end of March, 1844. He went first to Rome, then to Naples. In 1846, he was in France. Having failed, for reasons of the political situation in France, he appealed to French charity to help the condition of his unfortunate compatriots. There was founded the *Société de Secours en faveur des Chrétiens du Liban.* But the Revolution of 1848 forced people to move out of Paris and dispersed the ladies who had made up this *Societé.* However, it did grow in Provence and from 1851, under the name of *Œuvre de Notre Dame de Nazareth,* it increased in Laval, Angers, Caen and in many other towns of Normandy. It did cease to exist, but was established later in 1876 under the title *Association de Saint Louis.* The new association, blessed by the Pope on May 16, 1877, developed and rendered immense service to the Maronite people (226).

If the action of P. Azar was able to lighten a little the sufferings of the Maronites, it did not suppress the cause. During this time there was instituted in the mixed villages of the south the office of *wakil* (procurator): one for the Christians and one for the Druzes. This was only a palliative: a second civil war broke out in 1845.

The sultan sent to Beyrouth Chakib Effendi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, and charged him to re-establish order. The great innovation that resulted from this mission was the creation of a *madjlis* or council. The instructions of Chakib (at the end of October, 1845) determined the composition of this council in the following way: "A delegate of the Kaimocam, a Moslem judge and counselor, a Druze judge and counselor, a Maronite judge and counselor, a Greek judge and counselor, a Greek-Catholic judge and counselor, and finally, for the Metoualis, only a counselor, their having a judge in common with the Moslems" (227).

The jurisdiction of the *madjlis* was not limited to judicial affairs only; it extended to financial and administrative affairs. This organization appeared to be a liberal measure, giving Lebanon the benefit of a representative regime. In reality, there was a desire to change it. The *madjlis* represented only administrative machinery, entirely under the power of Turkish authorities. It was not surprising that this combination was full of difficulties and fomented new troubles. In his letter of October 17, 1846 to P. Azar, Monsignor Abdallah Boustany, Archbishop of Tyre and Sidon, gave a moving picture of the lamentable state in which the Maronites of the mixed region still found themselves after the new combination (228).

The plan of the Turkish authorities was achieved without too much difficulty. The work of the Ma'n and the Chihab having been destroyed, the Mountain was no longer a political unity and its feudal organization was strongly loosened. From that time on, Lebanon, at the total discretion of the Ottoman *pachas*, was no more than a theater of intrigues, revolts and battles (229).

The sad events of 1860 are too well-known for us to give a narration of them here. To recall the horrors of the time we can cite the words of an eyewitness:

> We do not wish to end this portion of our account which reports those events of which Lebanon had been the scene, without making a sort of recapitulation of the number of victims and material disasters. We have already said in our preface, this is not fiction, it is history. But this history is so unbelievable it is necessary to place the numbers before the eyes of the reader to prove that we do not exaggerate... In sum, 7,771 persons of every age and sex were killed in the space of 22 days! Three hundred and sixty villages were destroyed; 560 churches torn down; 42 monasteries burned; 23 schools that would usually handle 1,830 students were destroyed... These numbers have such eloquence that we need to add nothing more (230).

Dismayed by this situation, Father John Hadj, Maronite member of the *madjlis*, as Patriarchal deputy, drafted a report containing a detailed account of these evils and spread it throughout Europe, and especially throughout France. We have seen a copy of this, revised and corrected by the author himself (231). The eloquent appeal of a person as high-placed as Father Hadj, who had seen and followed these events, joined with other information from authorized sources, raised the indignation of Christian Europe. "A conference was assembled at Paris and decided upon intervention to help the victims and punish the assassins. France had the honor of choosing soldiers from Europe to accomplish this noble mission" (232).

In the interval, there took place at Beyrouth the semblance of a treaty of peace between the Druzes and the Maronites with the intention of procuring "the forgetting of the past," rendering the Turkish authority as master of justice in Syria, and excluding all foreign intervention. The treaty is dated July 6, 1860; it was signed by the two *qaimaqams*, Christian and Druze, the *mokatadjlis*, the members of the

"*Divan*," the *wakils*, and the leaders (233). The unfortunate victims of this pact were forced to ratify it. However, Father Hadj, in spite of the violent pressure exercised upon him, refused to sign. Therefore, when this treaty was presented to the international commission, because it did not have the ratification of the Maronite judge, it was considered as not binding. We are happy to record this little-known fact which is to the honor of the Maronite clergy. We cite the words of John Hadj himself who recalled it in the course of his conversations on the events of 1860 (234).

The intervention of Europe and the French expedition gave Lebanon a new law. The commission established by the Powers elaborated the "Organic Laws" of 1861. These "Organic Laws" were revised and "jealously amended by Turkey and England. This revision deformed completely the project elaborated by France, which proposed the re-establishment of the ancient Lebanese organization under a native authority. Confirmed by international accords, these "Laws" constituted the structure of Lebanese autonomy until the War of 1914. The Mountain was constituted into an autonomous *moutasarrifat* responsible directly to the sultan without the intermediary of the *pachas* of Syria... The ancient territorial jurisdiction had been cut in half... In these limits... the new jurisdiction comprised no more than geographical Lebanon... At its head was a governor who would not be tied to any of the Lebanese peoples. Nominated by the sultan, he had to be approved by the Great Powers... He grouped in himself all the powers of the executive; he levied taxes, approved the sentences of the tribunals which had been rendered by native magistrates. He was assisted by an administrative council elected by the inhabitants and representing the diverse Lebanese communities. The maintenance of public order was given to a troop or corps of native gendarmery, with French instructors to assure its organization"(235).

On the insistence of M. Beclard who represented France on the European commision, Fouad Pacha, high Commissioner of Turkey, had given the Christian *qaimaqamat* to a Maronite chief, Joseph Karam. This man was famous for

his courage and virtue and enjoyed a great prestige in the country. But this designation did not please General de Beaufort d'Hautpoul, commander-in-chief of the expedition (236).

De Beaufort had a candidate, the Emir Madjid, younger son of the great Bachir, who had lived in Egypt for many years. He planned that the latter would agree, after the new organization, to his being the supreme governor of all Lebanon. However, Joseph Karam would oppose this combination. The general did everything to remove Karam, who, once the war had ended, had asked Fouad Pacha to accept his resignation and had returned to Ehden, his birthplace (237).

The choice for governor of Lebanon went to a foreigner, Daoud Pacha (June 10, 1861). "Christian in name, ambitious and without scruple, not attached to Lebanon, to which he was a stranger, devoted only to his own fortune, he was interested in serving the desires of the sultan and followed his direction" (238). He was charged with promulgating the Constitution and enforcing it for three years. He needed support and he could not find it without Joseph Karam. The latter, seeing the interests of his country being sacrificed, declined the offers of the new government. This patriotic attitude brought him prison and exile (239).

Daoud had been named for a period of three years. It was hoped that at the end of his mandate he would be replaced by a Maronite. When his authority as governor of Lebanon was renewed in 1864, Karam, who had been away in Syria, returned with haste to retake his country; he was put at the head of the opposition and carried on the battle with a courage and patriotism that gained the respect of the enemy himself. But, in the end, in the face of numerically superior forces, he retreated and left Lebanon in 1867 under French protection. The name of Karam is still popular among his countrymen, and we have seen his body at Ehden, his birthplace (240).

From that time on, Daoud Pacha no longer encountered open resistance in the Mountain. However, his prestige

having been overshadowed, he felt that he could no longer hold his post. In 1868 he returned to Constantinople and never came back to Lebanon (241).

While the new "Law" of Lebanon, even after its modification in 1864, was not free from criticism, still it did provide a regime of social concord among the diverse elements of the population. Christians, Moslems, Druzes, and Metoualis lived side by side without defiance or harm. "The highest praise of this combination is that it proved that Lebanon was governable, and that its populations... were able to live and prosper only outside of Turkish rule; it was a period of gathering together and preparation for a more glorious destiny... This resurrection... was a work of energy and initiative by the Lebanese" (242).

The new regime lasted until the Great War. On October 29, 1914, Turkey, allied with Germany by treaty, abolished the structure of Lebanon. With the end of the War, France was in Syria and on September 1, 1920 Greater Lebanon was officially constituted. Then in May, 1926 the Republic was organized. Under the auspices of the mandatory power, as after its departure, the Lebanese, united in a mutual feeling of national concord, without distinction of race or religion were able to work freely for the prosperity of their country.

Chapter Two

RELIGIOUS HISTORY UNDER THE OTTOMANS

Article 1

PATRIARCHS OF THE 15th CENTURY

The last Patriarch of whom we have spoken above was Simon or Simeon Ibn Hassah of Hadeth. In his letter to Leo X dated March 8, 1514, he writes his profession of Catholic faith; he explains the old rite of preparation of chrism, the manner of choosing and enthroning the new Patriarch; he asks, among other things, confirmation of his election, etc... The Sovereign Pontiff answered his requests and sent to him in the same year an apostolic visitor, for Simeon had told the Pope that Lebanon had not seen a representative of the Holy See for a long time. This visitor, Brother Gian-Francesco da Potenza, was accompanied by Brother Francesco da Rieti. On their return to Rome the two Franciscans presented themselves, along with three Maronite deputies, to the Fifth Council of the Lateran (243).

The same Pope sent to Lebanon in 1515 another visitor, Brother Francesco Suriano, accompanied by Brother Gian-Francesco da Potenza (244).

The goal of these different missions was to expose certain theological, disciplinary and liturgical questions to the Maronites. The teachings of the delegates tended toward Latinization. Leo insisted particularly on conformity to the Roman usage in the preparation of chrism (245).

Following the information sent by Brother Suriano, the Pope wrote to Simeon on July 23, 1515 to congratulate him on the perseverance of the Maronites in the true faith (246). Leo X called the Maronites: "roses among thorns".

Patriarch Simeon died on November 27, 1524 at the age of 120 (247). On December 9, Moses Sa'adah al-'Akkari or Ackari succeeded him.

Moses Ackari was born in Barda, in Akkar (this is why he is called al-'Akkari). He sent Anthony, Archbishop of Damascus, to Rome carrying the customary letters: letters from the Patriarch, the bishops, and the leaders of the clergy and the nation, asking for the pallium and pontifical confirmation. The corsairs attacked Moses' envoy and destroyed everything, including the letters he was carrying. After having submitted to harsh difficulties, Anthony was able to free himself and continue his trip (248). But, not having the electoral letters, he left Rome without the pallium or the bull of confirmation, and many years passed before they were obtained. In the meantime, the Pope and the Patriarch exchanged some letters (249).

Clement VII showed a special good will to Maronites in designating for them a cardinal protector, the austere and virtuous Marcel Cervini, who later became Pope Marcellus II (250).

Paul III did not show any interest in the Maronites' regard. At the request of Moses, he charged Father Dionisio, guardian of the Monastery of Mount Sion, as apostolic commissioner for them, and requested that the minister-general of the Franciscans send some brothers capable of teaching Latin to the Maronites. The Patriarch had asked for these brothers with the intention of founding a seminary, but we do not know why this project did not succeed (251). Father Giorgio, the new guardian of Mount Sion, succeeded Father Dionisio in 1544 in the office of apostolic commissioner (252).

Cardinal Marcel Cervini was elected Pope on April 11, 1555 and took the name of Marcellus II, but he died 21

days later. The Patriarch sent a special messenger to the new Pope, Paul IV, to offer his respects and congratulations. He also requested the naming of a cardinal protector. Instead of one, Paul IV designated two, Cardinals di Carpi and Barnardin (253).

On Holy Thursday, 1557, Moses held a synod and consecrated the holy chrism in the presence of eight archbishops and about 400 priests, Rizqallah, *moudaddam* of Becharri, and a great assembly of people (254). We do not have any text of the acts of the synod. It is the first known council of the Maronite Church.

In 1561 Moses still did not have the pallium or confirmation. Douaihi attributed this delay to the tragic events of Monsignor Anthony; no one dared to make the voyage to Rome (255). The Patriarch called upon a priest of Cyprus named George, who knew a little Italian, and delegated him to go to Rome to seek what he had requested. George abused the confidence of the one who sent him, forged a letter in the name of the Patriarch declaring that he was a bishop, and, having received the pallium and other church articles for the Patriarch, he went instead to Cyprus with everything. Indignant, Moses complained to the Pope in a letter written from Jerusalem in 1564 (256). It is this George that is spoken of in the letter addressed by Pius IV to the Patriarch on September 1, 1562, *Venerabilem Fratrem Nostrum Georgium* (257). At Rome they still did not know of the fraudulent maneuver.

Up to this time, the new Patriarchs had sent only letters of obedience to the Pope. Pius IV asked them in the same letter to add the profession of faith from then on.

The last letter of Pius IV to Moses was written on February 23, 1565, on the occasion of a pontificial mission to the East. The legate, John Baptist, Bishop of the Abyssinians located in Cyprus, was charged with visiting the Maronites, among other peoples. (We have published this letter in our study: *Une Mission en Orient sous le Pontificat de Pie IV*, pp. 19-20.)

In the pontifical letters one can determine time and again the particular importance that the Popes attached

to the adoption of certain rites and usages of the Latin Church, especially in the administration of the sacraments. And so the way is prepared for a systematic Latinization that would be accomplished in the succeeding centuries. Moses died in March, 1567.

Michael Risi or el-Ruzzi had lived in the solitude of the hermitage, when in March, 1567 he was called to the See of Antioch by the desire of the people (258). The Holy See ratified his election only in 1579 (cf. the letters of Gregory XIII, *Cum Postquam*, August 1, 1579, and *Romani Pontificis*, September 18, 1579) (259). This delay, due at first to circumstances entirely removed from canonical form, was afterwards prolonged because of new difficulties touching on orthodoxy. Evil tongues had accused the Patriarch of Monophysite tendencies. The conclusions of the inquiry, ordered by the Holy See and favorable to Michael el-Ruzzi, could not be carried to Rome before 1577. However, the Pope still delayed the sending of the pallium until the return to Rome in 1579 of the mission of Eliano-Raggio, of which we will speak later. The Patriarch received it in 1580 (260).

Article 2

THREE PONTIFICAL MISSIONS

Under Michael el-Ruzzi, the two pontifical delegations of Eliano and Raggio (1578-79) and Eliano and Gian-Battista Bruno (1580-82), all Jesuits, took place. The Jesuits made their first contact with the Maronites. Up to that time the representatives of the Holy See had been only Franciscans.

The first legation was a response to the Patriarchal mission sent to Rome in 1577. Its goal was to visit the Maronites and, at the same time, to attract separated Christians to union with Rome. The pontifical envoys left Rome with the legates of Michael el-Ruzzi in March, 1578

and were in Tripoli about the middle of June. In the letter written by the Pope on this occasion, he asked the Patriarch to conform the usages of his Church to those of the Roman Church, especially in the use of the *Trisagion*, the preparation of chrism, the administration of Confirmation by the bishop, the prohibition of communion to infants before the age of reason, and the calculation of the degrees of consanguinity and affinity. The second legation was a continuation of the first. It brought about the holding of a synod in 1580 in the Monastery of Qannoubin, in the presence of Fathers Eliano and Bruno (261).

Following the celebration of the synod, Eliano went throughout the territory of the Maronites to make known the synodal decisions. He had scarcely finished his tour when the Patriarch fell gravely ill. The legate was called to him, and in the presence of the bishops, priests, and leaders, he administered Extreme Unction to the Patriarch, who died on September 21, 1581.

The electoral assembly, convoked to designate a successor, met on September 28, 1581. Those participating chose his brother, Archbishop Sergius el-Ruzzi. He was enthroned and received the customary respects. The next day, the newly-elected celebrated with great pomp a pontifical liturgy; and before communion, on his knees before the altar, he read with a loud voice the profession of the Catholic faith. He asked the legate to report his election to the Sovereign Pontiff and to ask for his confirmation. Father Bruno was asked to carry out this mission. He left Syria on June 7, 1582 and arrived in Rome in September. On March 31, 1583, Grogory XIII accorded the pallium to the new chief of the Maronite Church (262).

One of the results of the legations of Eliano was the foundation of a Maronite hospice in Rome (263), which was later converted into a college by the constitution *Humana Sic Ferunt* of Gregory XIII on June 27, 1584 (cf. Filippo Bonanni, S.J., *Catalogo Degli Ordini Religiosi della Chiesa Militante*, Rome, 1714, p. 43). This was the second Eastern college in this city, the same Pontiff having already founded

the Greek College in 1577. The foundation of the Maronite College answered the wishes of the Maronites, expressed by Michael el-Ruzzi in his letters to Pius V (264). But, instead of establishing it at Rome, the Pope had decreed is erection in Cyprus, under the surveillance of the Latin archbishop of that kingdom. All was prepared for the pontifical project when the island was invaded by the Turks (1570-71) (Cf. the memorandum presented to Gregory XIII which exposes the motives of the mission given to Fathers Eliano and Raggio for the Maronites in the Vatican Archives, AA, arm. I-XVIII, 1755). Gregory XIII took the idea and brought about its execution in the very center of Catholicism (265).

Justice and gratitude oblige us to mention here the names of Sixtus V and Cardinal Anthony Caraffa. The successor of Gregory XIII continued the kindnesses of Gregory XIII towards the College; he allocated to it new revenues (266). As for Caraffa, he contributed greatly to its organization and left it his fortune (267).

The direction of the College was handed over to the Jesuits. But, when the Society was suppressed in 1773, it was directed by secular priests.

After the invasion of Rome by General Miollis (February 2, 1808), the College was confiscated and sold (268). Therefore, it is not at the end of the eighteenth century that this event should be placed, as some historians have claimed. The goods which remained from this College were used to support young Maronites at the College of the Propaganda (269). Things remained this way until the restoration of the Maronite College under Leo XIII.

Father Eliano had caused those at Rome to believe that he led the Maronites to union. He had given substance to suspicions concerning the true religious feelings of the Maronites. The question of their orthodoxy entered the conversations in certain Roman milieux. The Maronites who were found in Rome did not fail to plead the cause of their Church. But these rumors and doubts worried the Curia. The Pope resolved to send a new mission to Lebanon to clarify these points. He chose Father Girolamo Dandini,

S.J., who was charged with studying the religion and customs of the Maronites, to determine the conditions for sending new students to Rome, and to give to the elders work proportionate to their capacity. Clement VIII was worried that the Maronite College cost too much; he did not wish to waste the money of the Holy See.

On July 14, 1596 Dandini embarked for Syria; he arrived at Tripoli toward the end of August, and on September 1 he was at Qannoubin. Age and illness had already condemned Patriarch Sergius el-Ruzzi for a year. But neither the years nor infirmities had enfeebled his thinking and the ardor of his devotion to the cause of his Church. He pronounced vehement protestations against the accusations which made the Maronites appear as heretics before the eyes of the Pope and the Sacred College. The legate was struck by the vigor of his spirit.

Very conciliating, discreet and perfectly tactful, Dandini fulfilled his mission, in praise of the Maronites. He called a council to which were convoked, along with the bishops, a certain number of priests and the *mouqaddamin.* The synodal sessions opened on September 18 (old calendar), 1596, and closed on the twentieth of the same month. Scarcely had the synod ended, when the old Patriarch died (September 25, 1596). Dandini was afraid that the nephew of the deceased Patriarch would be chosen and that the office would remain in the family. There had already been two brothers; in the previous century there had been an uncle and a nephew. The members of the family of a Patriarch would contract bonds of friendship and kinship with the leaders of the nation, and the leaders exercised a considerable influence on the electoral college. Dandini drew the *mouqaddam* Khater's attention to this point (270). However, Joseph el-Ruzzi, nephew of the Patriarch, was elected. One could reproach the new Patriarch only for lack of administrative experience (271). Besides, in the brief of confirmation, given on June 17, 1599, the Pope praised his qualities (272).

The pontifical legate asked, among other things, that the newly elected confirm the conciliar decisions of the

recent synod in which he himself had participated, and call a new synod to complete the work of the preceding one. Joseph el-Ruzzi freely agreed and held the new assembly November 3-13, 1596. On November 21 Dandini's mission was completed (273).

No doubt the missions of Eliano and Dandini marked the beginning of a new era for the Maronite Church. Especially, they opened the road to Rome to this group of young people who would go to study the sacred sciences with solid piety, and would spread the fruits of their rich learning afterwards, not only in the East but also in the West (274). But, the reform elaborated by the legates laid down the bases for a deep and systematic Latinization of the Maronite Church. The adoption of a Romanized missal, published in Rome in 1592 between the missions of Eliano and Dandini, dates from 1596. Dandini had brought 200 copies to Qannoubin (cf. Can. 8 of the first synod of 1596) (275). Besides, the acts of the synods convoked by Eliano and Dandini, and prepared beforehand by them, were conceived in a spirit of Latinization (276). The Latin influence had already begun under the Crusades; Rome had afterwards favored, sanctioned and enlarged it. But, up to the end of the sixteenth century, her efforts had been reduced to certain external details of secondary importance, such as the wearing of the ring, the miter, and the cross by prelates, the manner of making the sign of the cross, and the use of bells, unleavened bread, and sacred articles (277). The discipline itself was rarely touched. To our knowledge, the only important modifications introduced before the fourteenth century concerned the baptismal ritual and the epiclesis: the traditional form of Baptism had begun to be corrected and substituted by the Latin form (278). Still these diverse modifications had not become general practice; they had rather a very restrained application (279).

This external Latinization was able to be applied with more ease at Qannoubin, and this is explained by the objects that had been sent by the Popes to the Patriarchs. This is described in the narrations of voyages to Lebanon. For

example, the testimony of a pilgrim noble who visited the Patriarch in 1583:

> In the morning we came to Ehden and a short distance away we came to the Monastery of Our Lady of Qannoubin in Mount Lebanon; the Patriarch recognizes obedience to Rome. He conferred orders in the Solemn Mass (it was Sunday) on a certain religious. The vestments of the Patriarch did not differ from those customarily worn by our archbishops. The form of the host was the same as is used by Catholics (280)...

But the work of Eliano and Dandini marked the point of departure of a systematic Latinization, touching the very substance of cult. What they undertook was continued by the incessant activity of diverse factors, until a solid, definitive change was achieved (281).

Patriarch Joseph el-Ruzzi, a daring and resourceful man, was himself an inconsiderate Latinizer; he sacrificed a great number of the venerable practices to copy better the usages of Rome. He defied the opposition of a strong part of his subjects by decreeing certain modifications. Paul V affirms the above in a letter of March 10, 1610 to Patriarch John Makhlouf, wherein he invites him to re-establish the ancient usages in order to pacify the spirit of the people (282).

One can imagine the tendencies of the council convoked by Joseph el-Ruzzi in 1598 in the village called Moses (Dai'at Moussa). It walked step by step on the way of Latinization.

In 1599, Clement VIII wrote to the Patriarch on the subject of certain impediments to marriage: consanguinity, affinity, spiritual relationship, and public honesty. The Pope wanted them promulgated in the Maronite Church following the Latin discipline. At the same time he accords to the Patriarch the power to dispense from some of them (cf. the brief *Christi Fidelium* of August 17, 1599). But, the brief of Clement VIII could not come into force immediately. It remained in part a dead letter until the second half of the nineteenth century (283).

In 1606, without considering the possible harmful obstacles, Joseph el-Ruzzi promulgated the Gregorian calendar in his Patriarchate. But it could be applied only in Syria. In Cyprus and elsewhere, the difficulties were such that the Julian calendar continued to be used (284). The Maronites were the first in the East to adopt the reform of Gregory XIII. The Syrians and Chaldeans followed them only in 1836, the Melkite Catholics in 1857, and the Armenian Catholics definitively accepted in 1911, at a council held in Rome. The other Eastern churches have adopted the Gregorian calendar only at a much more recent date. It was also near the beginning of the seventeenth century that the Maronites abandoned counting the years from the era of Alexander and followed the Christian era (285).

Article 3

THE PATRIARCHS OF THE 17th CENTURY

Joseph el-Ruzzi died in March, 1608. The harsh vexations of which the Maronites were the object permitted them to elect his successor, John Makhlouf, only on October 16. The election of the new Patriarch did not cause the vexations and torments to cease. Father Jean Boucher, who visited Qannoubin in 1612, states:

> The Greeks molest them (the Maronites) all the time. The Patriarch told me at Qannoubin when I was there, that the Greeks by three years of lies had cost them more than 10,000 *sekins* they were condemned to pay the sultan to make satisfaction for the disobedience of which they had been falsely accused by the Greeks. Then, when the Greeks had 'skinned' them, the Turks who remained at Tripoli 'nibbled at their bones' (286).

Of little learning, but a man of good and stable sense, of a character which was both gentle and firm at the same

time, of a deep and active piety, John Makhlouf took possession of his office, and decided to face all the difficulties. He was congratulated by Gregory XV (287).

After his election, John Makhlouf sent to Rome two priests: George Ibn Maroun and Gaspar the Cypriot, one of the students of the Maronite College, to ask, in his name, for the pallium and pontifical confirmation (288). Paul V agreed to the request and charged Gaspar with the mission of imposing the pallium on him and of receiving his oath of fidelity (289). He profited from this occasion to criticize some of the disciplinary modifications of Joseph el-Ruzzi and to express the desire that the ancient usages be re-established (cf. the letter *Fraternitates Tuae Litteras*, March 10, 1610). But, Douaihi remarks (*Annals*, an. 1608, ms. *Vat. Syr.* 683, fol. 95 v°): a practice favoring liberty always ends by prevailing over the observance of a rigorous law: the changes introduced by el-Ruzzi, resisted at first, had become a part of the discipline.

With the coming of Gregory XV, John Makhlouf deputed Father Leonard, a Fransican, to Rome to offer the new Pope the congratulations of the Maronite people, and to ask him, among other things, for an edition of the liturgical books. After his arrival, Father Leonard sought out Archbishop Sergius el-Ruzzi, procurator of the Patriarch before the Holy See, who made these desires known to the Sovereign Pontiff. The Pope renewed immediately the instructions of Paul V concerning the printing of the ferial office, and named a commission to examine the text. He died before having achieved this work, and the edition was printed in 1624 under the title *Officium Simplex Septem Dierum Hebdomadae, ad Usum Ecclesiae Maronitarum, Impressum Auctoritate, et Impensis D. Pauli V..., Deinde S.D. Gregori XV; Tandem Abundantia Clementiae VIII* (290).

Urban VIII showed extreme good will in regard to the Maronites. When in 1624 the Monastery of Our Lady of Haouqa, situated in a grotto of the rampart of Wadi-Qadischa, was converted into a seminary by Patriarch Makhlouf, the Pope was not content just to bless and approve

the new project; he assigned funds to it and gave it constitutions (291). The direction of this seminary was handed over to a religious group who were at Our Lady of Haouqa at the time (292). Unfortunately, this institution lasted no more than nine years (293).

John Makhlouf was succeeded by George 'Amira. Urban VIII, of whom 'Amira had been a schoolmate at Rome, called him "the light of the Eastern Chruch" (294).

'Amira was so devoted to the Catholic cause that our brothers of the separated Churches called him a Roman bishop (295).

The Syriac grammar written by him, *Grammatica Syriaca, Sive Chaldaica, Georgii Michaelis Amirae Edeniensis e Libano, Philosophi, ac Theologi, Collegi Maronitarum Alumni, in Septem Libros Divisa* (Rome, 1596, 480 p. in-8°, without counting the preface and the preliminaries which are not paginated), is the first that had been printed in Latin in all of Europe. The author did not confine himself to the exposition of grammatical rules. The introduction: "On the Chaldean Language, Called Syriac, and Distinguished as the Chaldean Language or Ancient Syriac, and the Chaldean Language or Modern Syriac; on the Use of the Chaldean Language," attests to the curiosity of his spirit (296). Father Eugene Roger says: "I have spoken with the illustrious George 'Amira...; he has received from the Holy See, by a special privilege (because of his piety and doctrine), permission to celebrate the Holy Mass in Latin language and ceremonies, and the Maronite ceremonies in Syriac. According to the time and his devotion, he celebrates in one or the other language. This is something the Roman Pontiffs have rarely conceded to others. I have sent his portrait, as he was when he was elected Patriarch, which was in 1635" (297).

The Holy See could only applaud the choice of 'Amira, so qualified by the fullness of his knowledge and the ardor of his piety. Urban VIII ratified the election with his letter *Romani Pontificis* of March 3, 1635 (298).

'Amira was the first Patriarch from the Maronite College of Rome. His principal preoccupation was to realize the hopes

that the Holy See had placed in him. He did not limit his activity to Maronite affairs; he worked also for the development of Catholic missions in the East. He offered the Monastery of Saint Eliseus in the region of the Cedars to the Carmelites, where they became established in 1643 (299).

Under his reign a Maronite college was founded at Ravenna, under the name of Saint Ephrem, thanks to the kindnesses of a Maronite priest, Nasrallah Chalaq, who died in 1635. The Holy See applied to it other resources and raised it to a pontifical college having the privilege of conferring canonical degrees (300). Alexander VI, however, believed that it was more useful to suppress it and apply its goods to the formation of young Maronites at the College of the Propaganda and elsewhere (301). The goods of the Maronite college of Ravenna went in part to that of Rome, for the education of two students, and in part to the Maronite monks of Saint Peter and Saint Marcellus (302). Later, on the occasion of the Synod of Mount Lebanon in 1736, it was decided to use what remained of the resources for the founding of five schools: at Damascus, Sidon, Beyrouth, Cyprus, and the Monastery of Beq'ata (in Kesrawan) (303).

'Amira tended at times not to consider seriously some of the venerable customs. Archbishop George Habqouq al-Bech'elani, a contemporary of his, tells us that when he was elected to the Patriarchal See, he neglected to ask from his electors the customary letters before sending to Rome the priest Michael Sa'adah al-Hasrouni to request the pallium and apostolic confirmation in his name. No doubt, the Holy See could name the Patriarchs, choose them freely, or confirm their election without regarding formalities, but generally it did not use its prerogatives and pass over legitimate traditions. The patriarchal envoy returned to Lebanon empty-handed, and 'Amira was obliged to observe the customary formalities (304).

Al-Bech'elani also reproaches him for having managed the Church funds with little solicitude, for sometimes failing in his relations with civil authorities, and for having alienated almost his whole entourage: bishops, monks, servants (305).

'Amira lacked the experience of an administrator and the tact and subtleness of a diplomat. Did his Latinizing tendencies arouse the discontent of the old conservatives? Did the knowledge of his superior intelligence give him a condescending tone which cooled his suffragans and subordinates? The documents lead us to believe so.

Be that as it may, it is incontestable that 'Amira knew perfectly the necessities of pastoral ministry, and no one can reproach him for not being committed to it entirely (306). In the *Annals* of the Maronite Church, 'Amira has a great name and his memory remains venerated (307). He died on July 29, 1644. According to Douaihi, his body was still intact in 1656 (308).

On August 15, 1644 the Archbishop of Saida, Joseph Habib al-'Aqouri, was promoted to the Patriarchal See, and on September 10, 1646 his election was confirmed by Innocent X (309). He was a man of judgment, initiative, devotion and action. He had a piety that gained the esteem of the Turks themselves (310). Of a cultivated spirit, he left, among other works, a Syriac grammar printed in Rome in 1645.

He considered himself a born defender of the prerogatives of his See and the traditions of his Church. The abandoning of ancient customs, aggravated by a disrespect for his authority, was bound to start a reaction. The care for the rights of his See pushed him a little farther, and the Holy See intervened to correct the excess of certain measures. One could foresee, after these indications, what the character of the synod held by him on December 5, 1644 at the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist of Harache (Kesrawan) would be. His desire to safeguard patriarchal authority did not exclude his concern for orthodoxy (311). He died on November 3, 1648 (312).

Joseph al-'Aqouri was succeeded in the seventeenth century by John Safraoui (1648-56), George of Beseb'el (1657-70), and Stephen Douaihi (1670-1704).

John Safraoui, elected towards the end of 1648, was recognized at the consistory of September 13, 1649 (313).

His characteristic was abnegation, penance, extreme asceticism of his body, and he attained an extraordinary reputation for his practice of prayer and austerity. His privations did not weaken his robust constitution; he preserved to the end all the energy of his character, all the vigor of his intelligence, and distinguished himself "by his capacity in divine and moral sciences" (314). In addition, a rare delicateness of feeling, an instinctive goodness and constantly affable humor gained for him the affection of his people and the confidence of his clergy. He was an excellent administrator in both temporal and spiritual matters (315). Favorable to reform, he undertook with the assistance of two archbishops, Isaac Chedraoui and Joseph Karmseddani, the study of the *Office*. He prepared the edition of Phenqith, or the Proper of fixed feasts, and in 1650, he delegated Faustus of Nairon to present the two volumes to Rome, one for winter and one for summer. The two volumes came off the presses of the Propaganda, the first in 1656 under the title *Officia Sanctorum Juxta Ritum Ecclesiae Maronitarum. Pars Hiemalis Edita Auctoritate Sanctissimi Patris Nostri D. Innocentii X et Abundantia Clementiae Sanctissimi Patris Nostri Alexandri VII*, the second in 1666 under the title *Officia Sanctorum Juxta Ritum Ecclesiae Maronitarum. Pars Aestiva Edita Auctoritate Sanctissimi Patris Nostri D. Alexandri Papae VII* (316).

Under the reign of Safraoui, Isaac Chedraoui, Archbishop of Tripoli, accomplished a mission in France whose result was to have the Maronites gain "a protection and special safeguard" which put them in the first rank of the Christians of the Levant (317). But, John Safraoui obtained an even better advantage for his Church and Catholicism in the East: he was one of the artisans of the nomination to the vice-consulate of France to Beyrouth, of the illustrious Maronite, Abou-Naufel el-Khazen, who was known for his devotion to the Catholic cause. We have a request that he addressed in 1656 to Alexander VII, asking him to intervene before the king in favor of this candidate (318).

At the death of Safraoui at Qannoubin on December 23, 1656, the wishes of the people were for the election of

George Habqouq al-Bech'elani, a prelate highly esteemed for his right judgment and inexhaustible devotion. But his profound humility led him to refuse. The patriarchal office appeared to him too heavy a burden for his shoulders. They kept insisting that he accept. He hid himself in the cell of a monk. The people conducted a search, found him, and led him back to the church to enthrone him. He asked for a few moments to rest, and when they were not paying attention escaped again and hid in a grotto in the valley of Qannoubin. A new election took place in which Archbishop George, a native of the village of Beseb'el, not too far from Tripoli, was chosen (319).

George of Beseb'el was not only preoccupied with the spiritual government of his subjects. In the example of his predecessors, he did not neglect to better their lot and improve their material situation, and, to this end, he had recourse to the king of France (320). During this time the Maronites lived in the midst of incessant trials. To escape from the enemies of religion, the Patriarch himself was often reduced to hiding in grottos.

It was during the reign of George of Beseb'el that there took place in 1660, the celebrated voyage of the Chevalier of Arvieux to the Maronite territory. It is not without interest, perhaps, to reproduce the page that the Chevalier dedicates to Qannoubin. It puts in relief the customs of the Maronites during this time.

> Qannoubin, or coenobium in Latin, and monastery in French, is the patriarchal monastery where the Patriarch of the Maronites resides... We were received by the bishops and religious with manners that it would seem that one would not find in the inhabitants of a frightful desert, far from all society, and whose austere life and penance inspires a certain rudeness quite opposed to politeness. They led us into a large room, gave us refreshments, and helped our valets discharge their duties and fed them. Other brothers went to announce our arrival to the Patriarch. He was hidden in a grotto far away, very secret, of difficultit access and well covered,

where he does not go out during the day but only at night. This is because the inhabitants of these mountains were at war with the *Pacha* of Tripoli, who had asked for a large sum of money which they had judged was not proper to give him. The *Pacha* would often send the Turks to take the Patriarch and lead him to him, not doubting that when he would have him in his hands, all the Maronites would sell everything to ransom him from prison. The Patriarch arrived a half hour after he was informed. We kissed his hand in respect, he embraced us with tenderness and was very complimentary. I spoke for the whole troop and did so in Arabic which pleased him very much. After these ceremonies, he led us to the church where the Hail Mary was chanted followed by litanies to the Blessed Virgin in Syriac sung in the same tone as is sung in Latin in our churches. Having gone out of the church, the Patriarch took us to a large room where supper had been prepared. We found a great quantity of meat, fruits, honey and a good number of earthen jugs sealed with plaster full of excellent wine which surpassed that of Noah. We ate with a large appetite. The Patriarch, bishops and priests did not cease to encourage us to eat and drink well... Cups and glasses of crystal of all sorts of beautiful and curious designs, which belonged more in a cabinet than for use at table, were brought forth... The Patriarch, bishops and priests who pressed us to drink, did not show us example; on the contrary they were very sober. Some drank only water. This grand meal was only to extend us hospitality. Their life was ordinarily extremely frugal...; they fast often and very austerely; they work very hard and rise at night to chant the Office, with excellent melodies and prefect harmony. After giving thanks, the Patriarch had me sit with him and spend nearly two hours in conversation. We were struck by the vivacity and force of his spirit, as well as that of the bishops and priests. Afterwards, we were taken each to his proper cave, where we found the mats and covers

we had brought with us. The Patriarch was named George, but his name did not appear on his seal: there were always the words in Latin and Syriac: *Petrus Patriarch Antiochenus*, because Saint Peter had been the first Bishop of Antioch. The words were inscribed around an image of the Blessed Virgin. This prelate... was modestly dressed in a robe of cheap cloth, and wore a large turban of blue cotton. Formerly he had worn white, but he was obliged to take blue after the Turks became masters of the country and appropriated to themselves the sole right of wearing a white turban... All the Maronite prelates lead a very regular and austere life; they live poorly and take only what the earth gives them by the work of their hands. They do not put on the display of the prelates of Europe. Their ecclesiastical regalia is also poor. They are ornated with virtue and not with rich clothes, embroidery, gold or silver. They have only crosses of wood, but they are bishops of gold. All the Christians have an infinite respect for them, and a blind obedience to all their commands. They kiss the hands of archbishops, bishops and priests, and the feet of the Patriarch... They respect them as fathers and superiors, and their manner of living is a good example for them as for us who feeling emancipated try to live opposite to what we should. The following day, the Patriarch celebrated a pontifical Mass. He was assisted by four bishops, two on each side of the altar. He had a master of ceremonies, a deacon, a subdeacon, two acolytes, and many priests with different functions... After the Mass was ended, we received the blessing of the Patriarch, and we went to await him in the large room. He came after finishing his prayers. We thanked him and he responded with unimaginable goodness, inviting us to stay at Qannoubin as long as we wished, and to see what there was in the country. We kissed his hand, and he gave us his blessing. He left for the security of his secret cave. After a great dinner, we were taken by some of the venerable fathers to see the monastery and its environs... The church is beautiful and large, cut in the

rock. In the sacristy there is a large tableau of King Louis XIV. At supper, the Patriarch had spoken to us of him and assured us that they regarded the king as their most powerful and zealous protector, and that they offer special prayers for him every day at Mass and in their Office... We went to the bottom of the Valley of the Saints, where we saw an infinite number of caves, which are the residences of the holy anchorites whose lives would be a source of admiration for all generations to come... We passed a good part of a day in this frightful and very agreeable solitude, and then we left with some regret, and we went up to Qannoubin in the evening. The bishops and the religious continued their good care and politeness towards us with so much profusion. We resolved to leave the next morning, in spite of all the efforts these prelates made for us to stay with them longer (321).

The testimony of the Chevalier d'Arvieux is much more precious because the author was a keen observer with a critical sense.

Under the reign of George of Beseb'el, Abou-Naufel el-Khazen was named consul of France to Beyrouth, according to the letters of January 1, 1662.

As we have seen, Abou-Naufel had been named vice-consul in 1656, and the king had confirmed this nomination. The French merchants of Saida, having been offended, pretended to be hurt by this nomination (322). The Parliament of Aix annulled it (323). But having examined the affair, Louis XIV created a consulate to Beyrouth in favor of Abou-Naufel. He took possession officially on January 20, 1663 (324).

The nomination of Abou-Naufel to the consulate took place following a new mission to France by Monsignor Isaac Chedraoui by the order of the Patriarch. No doubt that other influences, especially that of the Holy See, played a part in the decision of Louis XIV.

Abou-Naufel was the first officeholder of the consulate of Beyrouth, separated by the king from that of Saida and Aleppo, and set up as an independent post and delegated to a "particular consul."

The functions of the consul of France to Beyrouth were exercised for nearly a century by Abou-Naufel and his descendants (325). It was not a light advantage for the Maronite patriarchate to have one of its subjects bear the title of consul of France with all the rights and honors which the other representatives in the Levant enjoyed.

George died in the Monastery of Mar-Challita (in Kesrawan), on April 12, 1670, a victim of an epidemic, probably the plague, which had spread throughout the country (326).

The epidemic which had ravaged Lebanon also reached Qannoubin and did not allow the electoral assembly to convene, according to custom on the ninth day after the death of the Patriarch. The vacancy of the see gave rise to intrigues, even in the episcopate, and certain civil governors believed it necessary to intervene to hasten the election.

On May 20, 1670, Stephen Douaihi (Douwaihi, ed-Douaihi, Aldoensis, or Ehdenensis, i.e. from Ehden, place of his birth) was chosen Patriarch. This endearing figure is one of those who dominate the history of the Maronites.

Born at Ehden (North Lebanon) on August 2, 1630, Douaihi was sent in 1641 to the College of Rome by Patriarch 'Amira. When he completed his course in philosophy, he presented, under the auspices of Cardinal Capponio, a thesis whose brilliant defense merited him the praise of all who assisted, and on the part of the cardinal, the order that it be printed. It was published under the title *Conclusiones Philosophicae EE. Principi Aloysio S.R.E. Card. Capponio a Stephano Edenensi... Dicatae,* Rome. 1650.

The young Stephen also completed his theological studies in brilliant fashion; he dedicated his thesis to the Maronite Patriarch, John Safraoui. He possessed a marvelous

art of disputation, which was strongly cultivated at Roman universities.

During his long stay in Rome, Douaihi made a research into all of the documents relative to his people. He discovered a large number especially at the library of the Maronite College, which was then rich in manuscripts.

In 1655, he left Rome and returned to Lebanon; on March 25 of the following year, he received priesthood from the Patriarch himself. As soon as he was ordained, he was employed in instructing children and preaching, but he never abandoned study and historical research.

At Aleppo, where he spent more than a year, he had a vast apostolate and succeeded in bringing to unity an important group of our brothers of the separated Churches. He was an eloquent speaker and was called the second Chrysostom.

After having given evidence of his talent, tact, and zeal, he was designated by the Patriarch to be Bishop of Nicosia, and consecrated on July 8, 1668. In the name of the Patriarch, he undertook a pastoral visit of North Lebanon and the region of 'Akkar. Then he embarked for Cyprus. Some notes, written on church books tell us of his passage in this island. One of them calls him "the splendor of the Maronite nation."

During his pastoral tours in Lebanon and Cyprus, always searching for new documents, the Bishop of Nicosia had the good fortune to discover numerous manuscripts which served him in his historical works.

He succeeded as Patriarch on May 20, 1670. The difficulties which arose on this occasion hindered the sending to Rome of the customary letters after his election.He was able to write only on August 24, 1671. He confided these letters along with the electoral dossier to the priest, Joseph Simon of Hasroun (Hesronita), who embarked near the end of the summer, and arrived at Rome on October 10.

But the intrigues surrounding his election had not yet ended. Some prelates and leaders wrote to the Holy See against the new Patriarch. If their letters did not produce

the desired effect, they delayed pontifical confirmation until the following year. On August 8, 1672, Clement X accorded the brief of confirmation and on December 12, the pallium (327).

The patriarchal envoy waited until spring before returning to Lebanon. When he left Rome, the Pope sent another letter with him which was very friendly towards the Patriarch (328).

Joseph Simon arrived in Lebanon on October 6, 1673, and Douaihi was solemnly invested with the pallium according to the Maronite pontifical.

Some months later, in July, 1674, an important event took place at Qannoubin; the ambassador of the King of France, the Marquis de Nointel, paid a visit (329).

On July 22, 1676, Clement X died and was succeeded by Innocent XI on September 21. Douaihi wished to take part in this universal Catholic celebration by sending a mission to Rome. In the letter that he wrote to the new Pope, he added to his congratulations a description of the trials that he was undergoing. But the patriarchal legate, Peter Doumeth Makhlouf, Archbishop of Nicosia, was able to leave for Rome, only in 1680. Three new students for the Maronite College accompanied him. The voyage was not without difficulties. Makhlouf and his companions fell into the hands of the corsairs, who led them as captives to Tripoli of the Barbary Coast and treated them as slaves. An Italian of Messina ransomed them and brought them to Italy. One of the three students was not released until later. This adventure recalled the one when the patriarchal legate had gone to request the pallium in the name of Moses al-'Akkari. Does this not show the merit of the Catholics of the East, who were not afraid to cross the seas at the risk of their lives to bring to the Vicar of Christ the homage of their fidelity?

Innocent XI received the Maronite mission with joy and sent with Makhlouf his letter *Ignentis Argumentum Laetitiae*, November 23, 1680 (330), and a sum of money for the Patriarch.

The reign of Douaihi was interrupted by suffering and trials. More than once, it was necessary to flee to avoid outrages. The Turkish functionaries were not the only enemies of the Patriarchate. The Metoualis who controlled a part of North Lebanon molested the Maronites without ceasing and did not respect even the person of the Patriarch (331).

These vexations were sometimes provoked by the hate of other Christian confessions. "We are hated even more because of you," Douaihi wrote to Innocent XI (332).

In moments of misfortune, Douaihi turned to France and this was not in vain. Louis XIV renewed "his orders to his ambassador at Constantinople, the Marquis de Ferriol, to obtain from the sultan what would be more advantageous to religion in the territory of the Maronites, and to show his protection to its inhabitants" (333).

These grave concerns, which overwhelmed Douaihi, did not weaken the activity of his spirit. One marvels at his scientific and literary work. In examining his numerous works, one asks how he surmounted all the obstacles to leave to posterity such intellectual riches. It is to him that the Maronite Church owes the formulation of its history, and the explanation of its liturgy. It is from him that Syria received a quantity of information on past events. To accomplish this task, it was necessary to discover and compile innumerable documents. His erudition was so sure and his critical spirit so severe that Orientalists bow to his authority. P.A. Rabbath says: "Our conviction is that the writings of the learned annalist of the Maronites (Douaihi) merited to be known in Europe. He is the first historian of the nation, and the mine from which all — not excluding Assemani — have largely taken. His readers do not agree with all of his ideas, but they cannot refuse to him the qualities of a very serious historian who looks the difficulties in the face and supports what he says with arguments" (334).

The historical and liturgical works of Douaihi did not absorb all of his activity. He administered with jealous

care and intelligence the goods of his Patriarchate; he neglected nothing in fulfilling his pastoral functions. On every occasion, he showed himself the cautious and determined defender of the prerogatives and traditions of his Church. More than once he disagreed with the Franciscan missionaries who had interfered in the Maronite domain, and Rome agreed with him (335). During his reign, he worked ceaselessly for the cause of union, as we shall see later.

Two things above all were close to his heart: the formation of the Maronite clergy and the reform of monastic life. The College of Rome occupied a choice place in his mind, and he established a seminary at Qannoubin itself.

He was not content with mutliplying centers of religious life. Up to then, the monasteries had lived under an exclusively autonomous regime. He wished to introduce the plan of the modern Western orders with centralized authority, and on June 18, 1700 he was happy to approve the first constitutions of reformed communities (336).

The great satisfaction of the last years of his life was the visit of a representative of the King of France, Jean Baptiste Estelle, who was named Consul of France to Saida on November 5, 1701 (337).

On May 3, 1704 Douaihi died at the Monastery of Qannoubin at the age of 74. Douaihi had had a reign of 34 years filled with activity that was as intense as it was fruitful.

The successor of Douaihi was Gabriel, a native of Blauza, whose reign was brief. M. Ristelhueber, basing himself on documents preserved in the National Archives and the Archives of the Ministery of Foreign Affairs of Paris, carefully retraces the events which precede, accompany, and and follow the election of Gabriel (338).

Acording to custom it was necessary to submit the electoral dossier for the approval of the Holy See. Father Elie Hyacinthe de Sainte-Marie, Vicar of the discalced Carmelites of Tripoli, Syria, and Mount Lebanon, was charged with this mission. With the customary letters he

left as soon as possible. He arrived in Rome on February 13, 1705, and on the twenty-second he had an audience. After having presented to the Pope the filial homage of the Maronites, he explained the purpose of his mission and the wishes of the Patriarch.

Clement XI was not content to accord only what had been requested. He wished to mark his good will by a solemn act in regard to the Maronites: on the following day (February 23), in the presence of the cardinals, bishops and the Roman nobility, he celebrated a High Mass for the Patriarch and his people. Then, in the consistory of April 27, he confirmed the newly-elected and conferred on him the pallium. Father Elie left Rome on October 10, 1705; on the eve of All Saints the Patriarch died suddenly (339). We know of the brief of confirmation only through an Arabic translation; it is found in the *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 7258, fol. 118. The brief is dated June 10, 1705 (340).

Article Four

THE TRAGEDY OF JAMES 'AOUAD

James 'Aouad succeeded Gabriel of Blauza on November 6. He sent Father Ferdinando di S. Liduvina, Vicar of the Carmelites in Syria, to Rome and was confirmed in the See of Antioch by the letter *Romani Pontificis* of February 21, 1706; the pallium was accorded to him at the postulation of Camille Spreti, consistorial advocate, on March 21 (341). The Pope reproduced in the letter of confirmation the formula of profession of faith, prescribed for the Easterners by Urban VIII, a formula more complete than that of Gregory XIII *pro Grecis*, and to which the Holy Office gave preference in 1665 (342). The formula of the oath of fidelity which the Patriarch swears follows the profession of faith.

Of a cultivated spirit, provocative eloquence, of distinguished manner and exquisite politeness, James had not been favored by all at the election. The accomplished fact, and his being consecrated by the highest authority in the Church did not disarm the anger of his enemies. After four years, they still regretted the election of 'Aouad in 1790 (cf. an account by Monsignor 'Abdallah Qaraali, in Chartouni, *Chronologie des Patriarches Maronites*, p. 182).

According to Germanos Farhat, consecrated bishop by Patriarch 'Aouad, the Patriarch did not gain the sympathy of his clergy or people (Ibid., p. 45). Estelle, Consul of France to Saida, judged him to be a man of knowledge, but little able to govern; he criticized him as "proud, an agitator, and avaricious" (343). The opposition party did not fail to exploit these faults to win over the public and to cause scandal. The missionaries themselves, forgetting their vocation to be peacemakers, were not strangers to warped machinations against the Patriarch (cf. R. Ristelhueber who, with the aid of documents and official contemporary reports preserved at the National Archives and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris, paints a picture of the events of this period) (344). Evil rumors began to circulate; they penetrated the clergy and people of all classes of society. Monsignor 'Aouad was accused of crimes which aroused the indignation of honest people. In 1709, the scandal had become so great that the bishops believed that the moment had come to make a canonical process and pronounce the deposition of the Patriarch. They assembled in 1710 in the Monastery of Mar Sarkis and Bakhos at Raifoun in Kesrawan. Things happened quickly. There was only the semblance of a tribunal; the case was handled summarily, and the sentence was that which the public wanted. In return, the execution of the sentence took on a solemn form of a real degradation: the Patriarch, led before the episcopal assembly, was subjected to a material despoiling of all the pontifical insignia (345).

Deprived of all power of order and jurisdiction, James 'Aouad was imprisoned under guard at the Monastery of Loaisah (Kesrawan). They now worked to choose a successor.

At first, a patriarchal administrator was named. Then they gathered together for the election and chose Monsignor Joseph Mobarak, a native of Raifoun (Relations of Qaraali and Farhat, in Chartouni, *op. cit.* pp. 45-46, 182-83).

Scandal had reached a peak; it was a desolation for good people, and M. Ristelhueber says it caused enormous prejudice against the Maronites. The schismatic Greeks were happy to reproach them for the crimes of their Patriarch. The Moslems had made couplets that their children took evil pleasure in singing whenever they encountered Christians. As for Estelle (Consul of France at Saida), his "heart was broken." He regretted so much the more the fact that he might have been able to have caused this affair to have been avoided, had he been in Tripoli (346).

That James 'Aouad should be criticized, that he had been too hard, that he had been too self-satisfied is possible; but that he had committed the abominable crimes of which he was accused cannot be admitted. "The accusations formulated against the Patriarch were so grave that they seemed to him (i.e. Naufel el-Khazen, French consul to Beyrouth) of little credibility. He felt that the bishops had charged their superior out of passion" (347).

Poullard, the former vice-consul of France to Tripoli, Syria, who after having left this city to be Consul of Tripoli of the Barbary Coast from 1708 to 1711 had returned to Syria as successor of Estelle in Saida, was painfully surprised at the sad situation of the Patriarch. He knew James 'Aouad well; he had always appreciated his merits. Therefore he took his defense and protected him to the end. He shows that the crimes alleged against James were neither so manifest nor so certain as one would like to pretend.

Besides, the account of a visit made in 1721 to the Patriarch at Qannoubin by a Jesuit confirms our conviction. Father Petitqueux wrote to Father Fleuriau: "The Patriarch with the religious and some Maronite bishops who are with him live in perfect union and simplicity, and in a very exemplary purity of habit; the lightest faults are severely punished.

The Monastery, poor as it is, receives strangers with a spirit of hospitality" (348).

Be that as it may, one is not able to contest the harm of the clergy and especially the episcopate; in provoking public opinion, they poured oil on fire and heated up imaginations to the extreme. The bishops had acted with haste in deposing their head and electing a successor. They had done so without considering a firm and energetic intervention of the Pope. They knew that the ratification of the new election by Rome was necessary. Perhaps they believed they would succeed better by presenting the Holy See with a fait accompli, but subsequent events show the error of their calculation. They charged their dean, George Benjamin, Archbishop of Ehden, and one of the principal adversaries of the deposed Patriarch, with the mission of reporting the whole affair to Rome. Benjamin embarked towards the end of 1710, accompanied by a monk of the Order of Saint Anthony. The Holy See, painfully surprised by the deposition inflicted on the Patriarch without its orders, by the gravity of the accusations, and by the procedure employed in contempt of canonical rules, ordered the custodian of the Holy Sepulcher, Father Laurent de Saint-Laurent, to make an inquiry on the spot (349).

With this pontifical mandate and the instructions of the Propaganda, Father Laurent, after having met with the consul Estelle, went to the Franciscan Monastery at Harissa, in Kesrawan. In the meantime, a letter arrived from the Archbishop ot Ehden, who still in Rome exhorted the bishops to welcome the envoy of the Holy See. This letter was not without effect. Father Laurent easily proceeded on his voyage to Raifoun, the residence of the anti-Patriarch. He showed him the instructions of Rome. The bishops saw that the order of the Pope was in virtue of the principle, "what is despoiled is to be restored before anything else," and would require that James be re-established in the Patriarchal See. They sought to preserve their duty of obedience by obliging Monsignor James to resign. He was taken from prison and on August 13, 1711 he was restored to his dignity. The following evening he offered his resignation. On the next

day at Harissa he renewed this act before the pontifical delegate who sanctioned its acceptance. In this manner the loss of the office did not appear any longer to be due to an irregular deposition, but rather to a resignation accepted by a representative of the Pope. The rights of the Holy See were found to be sagefuarded. The resignation was followed by a new election of Joseph Mobarak. Such a solution did not seem to be opposed to the instructions of Propaganda, and this is what explains the conduct of Father Laurent. However, against this forced resignation, James 'Aouad had recourse to Rome (350).

Having terminated his inquiry, Father Laurent drafted a report and sent it to Rome with the dossier. While awaiting the decision of the Holy See, he made a voyage to Aleppo and then to Egypt. In February, 1712 he debarked for Saida. In the interval, Poullard had arrived in November, 1711 to replace Estelle at Saida. But Poullard, former vice-consul to Tripoli, had a particular esteem for James 'Aouad. The situation had changed and so much the more because the anti-Patriarch had alienated the sympathies of certain bishops. The deposed was led to Saida and placed at the Francican monastery under the protection of the consul of France (351).

At Rome, James 'Aouad had in the archbishop of Ehden a skilled and fearsome adversary. But the latter had not counted on the intervention of a young relative of the Patriarch, J.-S. Assemani, whose prestige had already begun to be felt in Roman circles.

The affair followed its course at the Congregation of Propaganda: witnesses who had come to Rome were questioned; the documents were examined; the report of the pontifical delegate was studied. The delegate received privately some news which augured well for James 'Aouad. But the news was not delayed in being made known. The anti-Patriarch and his followers redoubled their activity and sent letter after letter to Rome and Versailles (352).

The conduct of the affair was in the hands of the cardinals of Propaganda. After having held many meetings, they

assembled on March 20, 1713 to pronounce a definitive judgment. They declared as unjust and illegal the sentence that had been rendered against Patriarch James.

The Congregation also examined the resignation of the Patriarch. It met on May 8 of the same year and declared the resignation of Monsignor James as null and with no effect, and re-established him in possession of the Patriarchal See (353).

The decisions of Propaganda had scarcely been promulgated when an envoy of the anti-Patriarch arrived in Rome. New writings were examined by the Congregation at the meeting of June 19, 1713. These documents had no effect on the decision which was confirmed by apostolic brief (354).

The pontifical document determined the right of the Maronite Church on this question: the electors of the Patriarch are not able to undo what they have already done.

Following this defeat, the Archbishop of Ehden turned to the religious life. He became a Jesuit and as such rendered considerable service to the nation. This is the witness that the fathers render to him at the Council of Lebanon held in 1736 (Part IV, c. vi, n. 6, ix). The person who attended this council as apostolic Legate was Assemani himself who had pleaded the cause of Patriarch 'Aouad against George Benjamin.

The pontifical documents promulgated at Rome arrived in Lebanon only after a long delay. Poullard received them in August, 1713; he went to work immediately. He conferred with the custodian, and on the twenty-fifth of the same month he wrote a pleading letter to the sheiks of 'Ajaltoun and Ghosta in Kesrawan. Then he addressed a résumé of the instructions he had received to his colleagues in Aleppo and Tripoli. At the same time he succeeded in solving the difficulties raised by certain missionaries. "Judging that the terrain had been sufficiently prepared, he decided to strike the great blow that would crown his work. For nearly two years Monsignor James had remained at Saida under his protection;

it was time to go to Qannoubin to take possession of his patriarchal see" (355). Poullard led him to Qannoubin; then, accompained by an imposing entourage, he undertook a journey in the mountain to rule definitively on all the questions relative to this affair (356). "The decrees of the Holy See were made public; the bishops and sheiks signed a letter of obedience to the Pope; the French following the consul chanted the *Exaudiat* in the Lebanese churches and everyone cried, 'Long live the Sultan of France!" (357).

It was in the first days of January, 1714, that Monsignor 'Aouad re-entered Qannoubin; he was accompanied by many bishops, Sheik Naufel el-Khazen and an escort of Metoualis. Meanwhile, the anti-Patriarch had died at Raifoun on September 8, 1713. This event made even more easy the quieting of the crisis.

However, the *odium plebis* was not disarmed right away, especially in the region of Tripoli. Some fomenters of disorder, exploiting all circumstances, continued to criticize the Patriarch in order to keep discord alive and to "fish in troubled waters" (358). According to Jean Jacques de Monhenault, vice-consul of France to Trípoli (1714-25), and two contemporary Maronite bishops, Farhat and Qaraali, the lack of flexibility and frankness in the Patriarch contributed to prolonging popular malaise in certain areas (359). "The majority of Maronites in the area of Tripoli remained more or less openly hostile to Patriarch James. In recognizing him, many of them acted only through fear of the Holy See. And among those who continued to fight, some, in their blindness, considered means which would be most dangerous for the country. A Maronite of Aleppo addressed the *pacha* and asked him to seize the Patriarch and put another in his place. Others did not hesitate to place the responsibility for all the troubles on the French and the missionaries. Certain Christians of Kesrouan, in spite of their apparent submission, seemed to be the real heads of the opposition, according to Monhenault. They addressed to him a very impertinent letter. Very irritated by the intervention of the vice-consul of France, they asked Monhenault to cease

mixing in an affair which did not concern him. They said they recognized only the authority of the Turks; they refused to admit that of France and even threatened the consul with Ottoman justice. One is able to judge to what point passion had driven some Maronites to be so mad as to deny the past of their nation. The ambassador himself was moved by this excess. He had shown the leaders of Tripoli how they played a game full of danger. It was truly criminal on their part to risk the intervention of the sultan in their affairs, when the Maronite community was the only one where the Patriarch could be named in freedom without the obligation of requesting the *firman.* These warnings went unheeded. The *pacha* of Tripoli charged the sheik governor of the territory of Akkar (situated north of Tripoli), who was a sworn enemy of the Metualis, to seize Patriarch James. Fortunately, the snows forced the small group to turn back; the only result was to make known the designs of the *pacha.* The prelate had time to hide in the caves of the high mountain, and to dislodge him would involve a war with the Metualis. From this time on... spirits became more calm — Torbey and the missionaries helped. They gave to the Patriarch the church articles belonging to him. Peace was re-established little by little. Soon Poullard, who had not ceased to pursue with passion the success of a cause which had become his own, was able to write (May 1, 1714) to Count Pontchartrain: "The fire which had been lit at Tripoli against the Patriarch has been snuffed out by the protection of the King." In spite of its suddenness, the calm was durable this time. The consul of Saida continued to watch over the events and to report them faithfully. He spoke no longer of the agitations of Tripoli; all was tranquil. The machinations against the Patriarch had been completely stopped. Monhenault and some Frenchmen went and visited the Patriarch; they were charmed by the good manners and the politeness of Monsignor James. This whole affair had been happily terminated" (360).

Afterwards, the Patriarch was able to undertake easily his pastoral visit. He went from one locality to another, and received grand marks of honor and submission everywhere.

However, "he still hesitated to go to Kesrouan, whose sheiks had been his most cruel enemies. But Poullard sent to them his *drogman* Ibrahim, and the sheiks gave their word that they would receive Monsignor James well. They had submitted to the Pope as to the 'Sultan of France,' their master. They kept their word and asked for pardon with tears in their eyes. The Patriarch did not fail to report to Poullard all the details of his triumphal voyage in letters written in Italian. He ended by arriving at Deir el-Kamar. He was well-received by the emir of the Druze before whom he was able to present his clergy and the leaders of the nation perfectly united" (361).

It is certain, that in the affair of Patriarch 'Aouad, Poullard gave proof of much tact, energy, and devotion. But he exaggerated his role a little when he declared that he had averted a revolt or a schism with Rome. He said this to gain a reward for his services, especially a post more important than that of Saida (362). In reality, neither missionaries nor Maronites had thought to separate from the Holy See. A people of a long Catholic tradition would not deny all the past in one day. Always attached to the Church, the Maronites did not question Roman authority, and it was their care to obey the Pope that led to the end of the crisis. A contemporary, Archbishop Farhat, consecrated by Patriarch James himself, indicates this well (363). Clement XI furnishes us confirmation of this in a brief addressed to the Maronites on August 18, 1714 (364). Benedict XIV, in speaking of these events says: "The Maronites gave new evidence of their obedience to the Roman See" (Consistorial allocution of July 13, 1744) (365).

Events were taking their course when a new scandal broke out: dissension between two members of the episcopate, the nephew of the Patriarch, Simon 'Aouad, Archbishop of Damascus, and Abdallah Qaraali, Archbishop of Beyrouth. This necessitated the intervention of the Holy See. The Pope sent a legate, Father Gabriel Hawa, a Maronite monk of Saint Anthony, to decide this affair (366). Fortunately, the mission of Father Hawa re-established peace in the Maronite Church (367).

Under the reign of James 'Aouad, Clement XI founded in Rome in 1707 the Monastery of Saints Peter and Marcellus, which was to serve for a time as a house of study for the monks of the Order of Saint Anthony of the Congregation of Mount Lebanon, and as a hospice for Maronite pilgrims. On March 18, 1714, this establishment was given by the Propaganda to the Order in question (368). Under the inspiration of Cardinal Nicolas Spinola, the institution was given a special rule that Clement XII confirmed (369), and which was modified twice by Benedict XIV (370). In 1753, the house was transferred to near Saint Peter in Chains, where it is still found, and placed under the name of Saint Anthony the Great (371).

Finally, we should mention the services rendered indirectly by James 'Aouad to the field of learning. He brought it about that J.-S. Assemani, on the order of the Pope, would go to the East to acquire Greek, Syriac and Arabic manuscripts. All these manuscripts are actually at the Vatican Library (372).

After a long reign, James 'Aouad died at the Monastery of Mar Challita in Kesrawan on February 12, 1733 (373).

Article Five

THE SYNOD OF MOUNT LEBANON

The election of the new Patriarch was not held without difficulty. The bishops were divided. Two candidates received six votes each, a third two, and a fourth one. At this point, a maneuver involving simony was revealed. To avoid any further problems, Joseph Dergham el-Khazen, Bishop of Ghosta, was elected by acclamation (374). This was on the twenty-fifth (not the twenty-fourth) of February, 1733 at the Monastery of Raifoun, in Kesrawan. Immediately, the Patriarch designated Father 'Abdallah Serour to take the

electoral letters to Rome. Clement XII confirmed Joseph el-Khazen in the Patriarchal See and at the postulation of Joseph Ascevolini, consistorial advocate, accorded the pallium to him (375).

The principal event of the reign of Joseph el-Khazen was the Synod of Mount Lebanon held in 1736. (No doubt it was by distraction that M.S. Deslandes designated it by the name of the Council of Ain-Traz in *Echos d'Orient*, 1922, t. XXV, p. 321.) This council marked an important date in the history of the Maronite Chruch, since it received its constitutional law from it.

Right after the election of Joseph el-Khazen, the question of reform was seriously raised. The finding of inconsiderate and badly understood Latinization, the lack of defined ecclesiastical organization, and the sad events recounted above had troubled spirits and disrupted discipline. The need to remedy these abuses was acutely felt (376). The necessity to reform institutions was joined to a caution to avoid ineffectual remedies. It was also necessary to have the concurrence of pontifical authority (377). The Patriarch, bishops, and leaders and regular clergy wrote to the Pope, Propaganda, and to various cardinals of the Curia, asking the sending of J.-S. Assemani as a pontifical legate (378). Rome responded, and Assemani was sent with the faculty of calling together a council, if needed (379). The Congregation of Propaganda gave him particular instructions touching reform of many disciplinary questions, especially the separation of monasteries of monks from those of nuns, the canonical erection of eparchies, the rights that one exercised on the occasion of the distribution of the holy oils and of the giving of orders. Possessing these documents, Assemani left Rome on December 17, 1735; but, because of bad weather, he arrived at Beyrouth only on June 17 of the following year. From there, he went to Qannoubin to the Patriarch. On July 1, he read the apostolic briefs and the letters of Propaganda in the church in the presence of the episcopate, clergy, leaders, and a large number of the faithful (380). On the following day, the Patriarch and bishops wrote to

Rome to testify to their gratitude and perfect submission to the orders of the Sovereign Pontiff (381).

Before leaving Rome, Assemani had elaborated a vast program of reform; he had even drafted in Latin the schema of the council he had proposed to call, no doubt for submitting it to Propaganda. A Maronite, Andrew Scandar, professor and interpreter of Oriental languages for Propaganda, had made an Arabic translation which was completed on November 15, 1735 (this translation is preserved among the mss. of the Vatican: *Cod. Vat. Syr.*, 399). It is not the text which was later adopted. In the meantime, Assemani had modified it; for, when he arrived at the Patriarch's, he was obliged to translate into Arabic the Latin text which he had prepared (382).

The program of reform proposed by Assemani encountered opposition even from the patriarchal entourage. The real instigator was Elias Mohasseb, Bishop of Arka and patriarchal vicar. By clever methods, a little less than frank, he even won over the Patriarch and those whose interests and conveniences reform threatened. Also, the preliminary discussions were long and laborius. We shall not go into detail, that is the subject of another study (383).

The debates bore principally on the following points: mixed or double monasteries, division of eparchies, formation of the clergy, the discipline of sacraments, rights exercised on the occasion of giving Orders, distribution of holy oils, matrimonial dispensations, and the lifting of ecclesiastical penalties (384).

The intelligent patience of the apostolic legate, the good sense of the Patriarch and the episcopate, the prudent intervention of the two consuls of France, M. Martin and Sheik Naufel el-Khazen, nephew of the Patriarch, the discreet activity of the Jesuits and the Franciscans brought about the ending of all intrigues. Accord having been reached in the preparatory commissions on the text to be proposed to the deliberations of the fathers, Joseph el-Khazen and the legate officially convoked the synod for September 30, 1736 at the Monastery of Loaisah in Kesrawan (385).

The sessions began on the date which had been fixed and, with two sessions each day, lasted for three consecutive days. They were held with particular solemnity, and the Maronite Church had never known such an assembly. At the side of the bishops and dignataries of both the secular and religious clergy, sat prelates of other Eastern Churches, representatives of the Latin missions located in Syria and a large number of the chiefs and leaders of the nation. All put their signatures to the text of the synod.

The Patriarch, bishops, monks, foreign prelates, and Latin religious wrote to Rome to anncunce to the Holy See the holding and closing of the synod and to ask for confirmation and for the printing of the text by the Propaganda press. In other letters addressed to the Pope and to Propaganda, the Patriarch exalted the merit of Assemani. The Patriarch and legate had many copies of the conciliar text made, in authentic form, and the original Arabic text was sent to Rome. Then, with common accord, they decided to adjust the more urgent matters immediately, especially the suppression of mixed monasteries, where monks and nuns lived side by side, separated from each other by simple cloister, but depending on the same authority and possessing the same goods. This practice going back to ancient times was fairly well spread throughout the East. We see it already in the condemnation in Novelle CXXIII, 36, of Justinian, and in the Seventh Ecumenial Council of Nicaea of 787 (386). The Patriarch and the legate made arrangements for certain monasteries to be exculsively for women and others exclusively for men. Assemani went to work on it. The Patriarch supported him in all things. His activity did not meet with resistance at first, but when he arrived at the three monasteries of Ain-Warqa, Mar Challita, and Raifoun, located in Kesrawan, he was hurt by a systematic opposition, led for Ain-Warqa by John Estephan, Bishop of Laodicea, and for Mar Challita, by Elias Mohasseb, Bishop of Arka. At Raifoun, at the instigation of Elias Mohasseb, the Patriarch himself, who had established his residence in the monastery, changed his mind and wished to maintain the status quo. The Bishop

of Arka and his colleague from Batroun, Stephen Douaihi, convinced Joseph el-Khazen to prescribe that the monks and nuns who had accepted reform re-establish their mixed monasteries. This was a bold enough tactic, but there was something more serious. Father Elias Sa'd, secretary of the Patriarch, some members of the Khazen family, a Latin missionary, and a former student of the College of Rome supported the opposition. To render all accord between the legate and the Patriarch impossible, Mohasseb, Douaihi, and Sa'd represented the reform of monasteries to the Patriarch as an insult to the honor of the religious and the entire nation. They distributed a hundred copies of their vehement protestation to the bishops, monks, nuns, chiefs and leaders of the Maronite people, the consuls of France, Latin missioners, alumni of Rome, and to Assemani himself. Inspired and pushed by these advisors, the Patriarch went to the point of declaring that he no longer recognized the legate, that he lifted from him any jurisdiction over the Maronites, and brought the matter before the Holy See. Being little experienced in law and impressed by the arguments of men in whom he had confidence, Joseph el-Khazen allowed himself to be circumvented and, in good faith no doubt, committed a grave excess of power (387). On the other hand, the majority of bishops, the majority of Khazen, the Hobaich of Ghazir, the alumni of Rome, the monks of the Order of Saint Anthony of the Congregation of Mount Lebanon, Franciscans, Jesuits, Capuchins and Carmelites deplored these sad incidents; they disapproved of the agitating advisors of the Patriarch and held for a clear separation of the men's monasteries from the women's.

Before such opposition, the advisors of the Patriarch, in order to give their claims a juridical form, shifted the controversy by raising two other questions: that of the canonical institution of eparchies with the powers and obligations that would result, and that of taxes relative to the giving of Holy Orders and the distribution of the oils. They said that the application of reforms on these points would hurt the rights of the Patriarch, i.e. the Patriarch to the exclusion of the

bishops, had sole, full and entire jurisdiction; he was the immediate chief over all the Maronites, the other prelates were only his vicars. These rights were seriously fought by the legate as well as by the other bishops. In the meantime, new instructions arrived from Rome; the Holy See insisted on putting the reform into practice and on applying it to the controversial issues.

Assemani left Syria in 1738 without having been able to execute the orders of the Pope; he visited the Maronites of Cyprus where he assembled a diocesan synod on March 7 of the same year. Its acts were sent to the Patriarch, bishops, and the Congregation of Propaganda. From Cyprus the legate went to Egypt to visit the various Christian communities, both Catholic and non-Catholic. From there he returned to Rome. On his arrival, he presented the text of the Synod of Mount Lebanon to Pope Clement XII and Propaganda. The Pope charged a commision of cardinals to study it (388). The opposition party had carried its violent complaints to the Curia. It was represented at Rome by a priest, Elias Sa'd, who had been secretary at the synod. The discussion was not just limited to the litigated articles. The whole work of the synod was attacked and calumnies were charged against the legate. Elias Sa'd had abused the mandate given him by the Patriarch. The Patriarch would not have approved of the disrespectful attitude of his legate. The affair went on for a long time and the quarrel increased more and more. The legitimacy of the synod was still being discussed with passion when Clement XII died on February 6, 1740. The long vacancy of the apostolic see (more than six months) did not appease spirits. It remained for Benedict XIV to correct all these intrigues. The new Pope confirmed the commission established by Clement XII which had for its head Cardinal Rezzonico (the future Clement XIII). After having examined the disputed articles, weighed the arguments of the disputing parties, and considered the arguments invoked against the request for pontifical approval of the synod, the commission replied: "Reviewers are to be appointed to examine the whole synod and report whether

it should be approved and in what manner." Conforming to this decision, the Pope designated three reviewers: an Italo-Greek Father Rodota, writer at the Vatican, and two Maronites, Gabriel Hawa, Archbishop of Cyprus who resided at Rome, and Father Thomas Budi, Abbot-General of the Order of Saint Anthony of the Congregation of Mount Lebanon and one of the fathers of the synod, who had come to Rome in 1740. (We have read the votum of Father Rodota in *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 7401, fol. 320, ff.; it is dated July 10, 1741.) The review was completed and the result was communicated to the Pope and the cardinals of the commission. Benedict XIV ordered that a meeting be held in his presence. This took place at the Quirinal on August 7, 1741:

> The questions which have been presented to this congregation are the following:
>
> 1. Whether this synod was legitimate?
> 2. Whether the canon regarding the cohabitation of nuns or women with monks should be sustained or modified?
> 3. Whether the canon prohibiting any tax to the Patriarch in the distribution of holy oil to priests should be sustained and merits confirmation?
> 4. Whether the canon regarding the residence of Maronite bishops in their proper episcopal churches should be approved, and what to do in regard to the appendix to the synod Ch. 41, in which there is a division of the episcopal sees, with their own boundaries so that bishops would be appointed to these dioceses and not be movable by the Patriarch?
> 5. Whether it is advisable for the Holy See to approve the synod even by an apostolic brief?
>
> To these questions the cardinals assembled made the following answer:
>
> As to question 1, they decided for the legitimacy of the synod.
> As to question 2, they decided for approval of the canon.
> As to question 3, it was approved, and the Holy See

should decide how the Patriarch was to be provided for. As for question 4, they decided to approve the canon calling for the residence of bishops, and the Holy See should decide regarding the contents of the appendix Ch. 41 in which Maronite metropolitan and episcopal sees and their limits are proposed.
As for question 5, it is proper for the Holy See to approve the synod with an apostolic brief.

By the constitution *Singularis Romanorum* of September 1, 1741, Benedict XIV approved the Synod of Mount Lebanon *in forma specifica*. He wrote still other briefs concerning the quarrels that had arisen during this time, such as the brief *Apostolica Praedecessorum* of February 14, 1742, regarding taxes and the erection of dioceses in conformity with the response to the third and fourth questions (389).

We shall see later the measures decreed by the Pope regarding dioceses. The bearer of the pontifical instructions was Father Elias Sa'd himself, to whom the Propaganda also confided the original Arabic text of the synod to be returned to the Patriarch. But Father Sa'd was still en route when on May 13, 1742, Joseph el-Khazen died. After arriving in Lebanon, Sa'd informed the prefect of Propaganda of the situation created by the death of the Patriarch and of his intention to keep the things with which he had been charged until he received new instruction. Rome enjoined him to keep them well until he could give them to the legitimate successor of Joseph el-Khazen (390).

The Synod of Mount Lebanon is similar to the former synods in adopting usages and laws of the Roman Church. The Synod of Mount Lebanon consecrated the result of the past but, in various articles the ancient discipline was re-established. Also, by reproducing the various dispositions of the Council of Trent it gave the Maronite Church a complete and definitive law. The one who drafted this synodal text was not content with just listing the laws; he wished to formulate a masterpiece of knowledge and erudition. And, in fact many modern councils of the Catholic East have borrowed

from it. One can say that in elaborating this vast legislation, Assemani had gained merit for his Church and his country.

From a strictly juridical point of view, only the synod's Latin translation, having been confirmed *in forma specifica*, had the force of pontifical law. However, it was the Arabic text that was in practice in the Maronite Church up to the end of the nineteenth century. The Latin translation existed only as a manuscript copy in the archives of Propaganda. The first printed edition was executed in Rome in 1820. The decree of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda of September 8, 1820 is at the beginning of this edition. But the Arabic text had been printed in 1788 at the printing press of the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist of Chouair (Lebanon), at the expense of the famous Maronite, Sheik Ghandour Sa'd el-Khouri, consul of France to Beyrouth. The sending of 20 copies of the Roman edition to the Patriarch and the bishops did not change the situation, for the Maronite prelates of this time, with the exception of two, had no knowledge of the Latin language. Furthermore, no one thought that the text approved by Rome was different from the Arabic text signed by the fathers of the Council (391). Also, in practice, one had only the text which conformed to the original Arabic text up to the time when Monsignor Joseph Najm, Maronite archbishop, published in 1900 a translation of the Roman edition. This note is not without interest to those who wish to understand certain juridical controversies which arose in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the discussions, the Maronite Patriarchs based their position on the Arabic text which differed sometimes on important points from the Latin text, which was the only one recognized in Rome.

Article Six

AFTER THE SYNOD OF MOUNT LEBANON

The election of a successor to Joseph Dergham el-Khazen gave place to battles which grieved both the clergy and

the people. Two Patriarchs were elected, each supported by his own followers, an event without precedent in the annals of Maronite history. The electors present at the funeral elected the Archbishop of Damascus, Simon 'Aouad, by majority vote on the day following the funeral without awaiting those who were absent. But he did not accept, and they chose Elias Mohasseb, Archbishop of Arka. This second election took place on the following day (May 15) (392). The archbishops of Cyprus and Tyre were absent; with the assistance of a prelate of the Syrian rite the two Maronites consecrated two new bishops in order to proceed with the election of another Patriarch. The Archbishop of Cyprus, Tobias el-Khazen, was elected. The electors of Mohasseb held to their choice. The others, basing their position on the nullity of an election done in spite of the law, pretended that the right to elect devolved upon them. The two competitors caused a public scandal. Then, they sent to Rome procurators, duly accredited and bearing the customary synodal letters. The Holy See was faced with two contested elections. Three measures were suggested to the Holy Father: the annulment by administrative act of the acts of the two meetings with the order to proceed to a new election; the calling of the two elected to Rome and the obliging of the one who had not been judged legitimate to withdraw; or the solution of the affair by *judiciario ordine* (i.e. by judicial form). Benedict XIV chose the last solution. He set up a special congregation of cardinals with the mandate to examine the process of the two elections, to question the representatives of the parties involved, and to study the documents that they furnished. The points at issue were formulated as follows:

1. Whether either election should be sustained?

2. Whether sanation should be given, to whom, and how far?

3. How it should be done?

The answer was to be given in the presence of the Holy Father himself. The congregation finished its work and met

before the Pope on February 15, 1743. It proposed the following solution by unanimous vote:

> Having heard fully the men sent by the elected, and their defenders, and having reviewed all the writings produced for both parties, it was decided by unanimous vote to sustain neither election, because of serious faults; nor is there place for any sanation...

The Pope approved this resolution which interests us especially for the jurdical motives which inspired it. The case was without precedent in Maronite history and no legislative text foresaw such an eventuality. Furthermore, the assembly held on July 4, 1631 before Cardinal Pamphili (the future Innocent X) and of which Benedict XIV reports the conclusions, had declared that general laws of the Church do not touch Easterners, "except in three cases: first, in dogmatic matters of faith; second, if the Pope explicitly makes mention of it in his constitutions; third, if he implicitly refers to them in the same constitutions, as in cases of appeal to a future council" (Constitution *Allatae Sunt*, July 26, 1755, # 44).

But, in fact, it is the law of the *Decretals* that one applies in the election of the Archbishop of Arka: "That if it is that they (the electors) were not called, they being slighted, the election is lacking, unless for the sake of peace they later consent" (cf. 28, X, *De Electione et Electi Potestate*, I, vi; cf. also *Ibid.*, c. 36 et 55). Among other aggravating circumstances was that one had taken possession of the Patriarchal office before verification by the Holy See of the electoral operations and confirmation of the Patriarch-elect. More grave still were the causes that vitiated the last election. First, one could not take advantage of a right which had come to him, since a sentence of a superior throwing out the election or declaring it invalid had not been obtained previous to the new election. In the second place, the ordination of the two bishops was illegal, and the formation of a new electoral college is contrary to the canons. Finally, the Bishop of Cyprus had been elected in the midst of popular

tumult and with the interference of secular power (393). The two elections were therfore declared null and the rights of the electors devolved upon the Sovereign Pontiff. The legislation of the Maronite Church having indicated nothing touching on this question, the assembly of cardinals did not see how to act otherwise. Without doubt, one could appeal to c. 23, X, *De Electione et Electi Potestate*, I, vi, and its note, or to c. 18, *De Electione et Electi Potestate*, I, vi, in VI^e. But in the present case, the adaption is perhaps a bit forced. Be that as it may, the solution declared by the supreme power had legal force; it created a juridical precedent. The Pope reserved to himself, in this instance, the providing for the Patriarchal See, and rendered all objection useless (394).

But on the following day, Benedict XIV hastened to reassure the Maronite episcopate of its elective rights (395). It is therefore the Pope who, substituting himself for the electors, had provided *ex integro* for the patriarchal office. His choice was for the dean of the episcopate, Simon 'Aouad, Archbishop of Damascus (Consistorial allocution of July 13, 1744) (396). In addition, 'Aouad was a learned prelate of sure doctrine.

But, how to proceed to the execution of the pontifical sentence? In certain parts of the Curia there was concern that to impose a Patriarch that had not been elected would be a cause of schism for the Maronites. This fear was made known to the Sovereign Pontiff. But one forgets the long history of this people. The Maronites, strongly jealous of their Catholic traditions, would scarcely think of revolting against an order that has come from Rome. Nevertheless, the Pope believed that it was wiser to employ precautions. He named the former custodian of the Holy See, Father Giacomo de Lucca, legate and apostolic commissioner to inform the Maronites of the decisions of the Holy See. But, Father Giacomo was not at Rome, Propaganda had given him a mission in Palestine. Furthermore, one did not wish to notify the agents of the two Patriarchs of the pontifical measures. The briefs and necessary instructions were sent with a man of confidence, Father Luigi di Casal Maggiore,

also a Franciscan (cf. the brief *Nuper ad Sedandas*, March 16, 1743) (397). The Pope charged him also in the same brief to execute the orders given to Father Sa'd. To these documents Cardinal Petra, Prefect of the Congregation, added two letters to the consul of France at Saida and the grand emir of Lebanon, asking them to help the pontifical envoy.

Having received the instructions of Rome, Father Giacomo went to the territory of the Maronites, and acquitted his mandate with general satisfaction. The Maronite bishops wrote to the Pope: "Your legate carried out his office among us prudently, wisely, and assiduously" (398).

The conferences did not last long. The pontifical letters had left Rome in March, 1743; on October 7, the Maronite episcopate assembled in the Monastery of Harissa to testify publicly to their obedience to the new Patriarch and to proceed to his enthronement, which was accomplished on the eleventh. After this, many documents were drafted which attested the full submission of the Maronites to the orders of the Holy See: the transcript of the acts of the assembly of Harissa; the letters addressed to the Pope by the Patriarch, the bishops, and the el-Khazen family; and the document charging Assemani to request the pallium. This was taken to Rome by Father Desiderio de Casabasciana, secretary of the legate.

At the consistory of July 13, 1744, Benedict XIV praised the Maronites and accorded the pallium to Simon 'Aouad (399).

The peace re-established for the Maronite Church was of short duration. A quarrel soon arose between the Patriarch and five bishops. They were bold enough to contest the jurisdiction of their head, to forbid the clergy and faithful of their dioceses to recognize him, and to name provisionally a patriarchal vicar or administrator. The Patriarch and the dissidents made their complaints before the Roman court in 1745. The numerical majority who supported the Patriarch were also the *pars sanior* of the clergy and of the nation. The Pope delegated a man well-qualified to re-establish concord, Father Desiderio da Casabasciana, custodian of the Holy

Land. He also charged him to promote the observation of the Synod of Mount Lebanon and the different pontifical ordinances ordered on that occasion (400).

On November 28-30, 1755, obeying a letter of Benedict XIV (March 6, 1754), Simon 'Aouad convoked a synodal assembly to put into practice the Council of Mount Lebanon (401). According to Patriarch Mas'ad (cited by Father Harfouche in *Al-Machriq*, t. VI, p. 890), the same prelate had held a previous synod, September 12, 1744. In spite of our research in Lebanon and elsewhere, we have not been able to find any text at all.

Article Seven

THE AFFAIR OF HENDIYE

It was during the reign of Simon 'Aouad that the first agitations of the celebrated visionary Hendiye, or Hendiyah, took place. Her real name was Ann, later called Hendiyah, and she was born of the 'Ajeymi family in Aleppo on August 6, 1720. Piously raised by her mother, she grew up from infancy with an enthusiasm for exaggerated mysticism. At the age of twelve, she was admitted in the Confraternity of the Sacred Heart, founded in Aleppo by the Jesuits, and then directed by the Lazarists. At the age of 18, she was under the direction of Father Anthony Venturi, S.J. He was wrong in not regulating her mysticim and allowed her very imaginative spirit to be intoxicated with romantic illusions. In spite of all this, she acquired early a great reputation for sanctity. One can understand the considerable influence that she exercised on a profoundly religious country easily inclined to mysticism in the midst of a people of lively faith and simple piety. The Jesuits began to patronize her. Having associated her spiritually to themselves, the Jesuits wished her to enter the convent of the Visitation, established under their direction,

at Antoura in Kesrawan. In spite of a stay of eight months, she obstinately refused to take the veil, persuaded that she had to fulfill a special mission. Our Lord had appeared to her many times, she said, and had intimated the founding of a new congregation under the name of the Sacred Heart. This was to be the goal of her activity; and we shall see that she pursued it with obstinacy. From Antoura she was transferred to the Maronite convent of Saint John the Baptist of Harache located in the same region. She spent nearly two years there, but continued always inflexible in her idea. Finally the projected congregation was founded at Bekorki, near Harache and Antoura, and its rule was approved by Patriarch Simon 'Aouad and some of the Maronite bishops. This was in 1750.

In the meantime, the Jesuits had declared themselves against Hendiyah and had recalled her director, Father Venturi, to Europe. Naturally, the Patriarch was the first of her defenders. Certain personages belonging to other Christian communities in Syria, the Emir of the Mountain himself, and Molham Chihab (1732-54), supported her. A little worried, Simon 'Aouad charged a very learned priest, Michael Fadel, to make a serious inquiry into Hendiyah and her congregation. Fadel, following the examination, drafted a report full of praise. The Patriarch published it, and a conflict arose between him and the Jesuits. The latter took the question to Rome, and worked against the Patriarch and the bishops before the Holy See. Things came to the point where the Patriarch was obliged to forbid the Maronites to have any relation with the Jesuits, under pain of excommunication (402). Therefore, it is not as is claimed, that, because the Jesuits had declared themselves against the superstition of collecting and distributing as relics the blood of Hendiyah, the Patriarch took this measure.

By the brief *Ad Supreman* of January 4, 1752 the Pope censured Simon 'Aouad for his having pronounced on an affair of such importance without having consulted the Holy See beforehand; he suppressed the congregation of the Sacred Heart and ordered Hendiyah transferred to another

convent (403). Then, on December 9, he sent an apostolic legate, Fater Desiderio da Casabasciana, who had spent several years among them (1743-50), to the Maronites and charged him to make a complete examination of the affair of Hendiyah (404).

The pontifical envoy arrived at Saida toward the end of April, 1753; from there he went to the Patriarch at the Monastery of Machmouchet (South Lebanon), where circumstances had forced Simon 'Aouad to make his residence. The first desire of the legate was to reconcile 'Aouad and the Jesuits. The conferences were laborious; but it would be wrong to attribute the difficulties to the Patriarch. On this point the long report of the legate gives all the details (Text in P. Abboud, *Relazioni*, t. I, pp. 100-18). One can also see how the Patriarch justifies his conduct in this whole affair.

The apostolic visit began May 18, 1753, and ended on July 17. The legate visited the convent of Bekorki as well as the two convents of Antoura and Herache, where Hendiyah had stayed before the foundation of the congregation of the Sacred Heart. The result of the examination was very favorable to the visionary (cf. declaration of the legate, *Ibid.*, t. II, p. 531 and his report, t. I, pp. 134-90 of the Italian part). However, the agitation did not end; other comings and goings took place between Rome and Lebanon.

On his return to Rome, Father Desiderio reported his impressions to the Sovereign Pontiff. Benedict XIV addressed a letter *Benedictus Deus* to the Patriarch on March 12, 1754 (405). But the Pope had other matters to turn to and wished an end to this affair. He asked Father Desiderio to write a report on the virtues of Hendiyah and the graces with which she claimed she had been favored. In this work he was to state only those facts and information that he had noted himself. Besides, the Pope charged others, especially Father Mancini, to examine the writings relative to Hendiyah and her congregation (406). The legate formulated his conclusions on a supernatural explanation (407). The other consultors were of a contrary opinion (408). Seeing this, the Pope called an assembly of cardinals to settle this

question in the month of January, 1755. On the twenty-fifth, Propaganda wrote to the Patriarch concerning the "manifest illusions," ecstasies, visions, and revelations of the seer and of the "credulity" of her directors (409). Consequently, Benedict XIV imposed on the misled seer a new spiritual director, Father Carlo Innocenzo di Cuneo, a Franciscan of the Observance (410). He presented himself to the Patriarch, who gave the orders conforming to the pontifical decision. Hendiyah did not find the decision to her taste. She accepted the new director, but in appearance only, for she continued her relations with the former one. Hence, Father di Cuneo did not delay in leaving the convent of Bekorki (411).

In the meantime, Patriarch Simon 'Aouad died at Machmouchet, on February 12, 1756: on the twenty-eighth the Archbishop of Cyprus, Tobias el-Khazen, was elected in his place according to the dispositions of the Synod of Mount Lebanon, and was confirmed in the consistory of March 27, 1757. The acts of the consistory and the documents relative to the election of Tobias el-Khazen are found in De Martinis, *Jus Pontific.* (412).

The new Patriarch established his residence in Kesrawan, especially at the Monastery of Mar Rouhana. At the beginning of his reign, he was very anxious to put the Synod of Mount Lebanon into practice. To this end, he called a council on August 25 at the Monastery of Saint Anthony of Beq'ata (Kesrawan) (413). However, he searched without success to bring about the division of eparchies established in the synod of 1736 (414).

Tobias el-Khazen was neither an adversary nor a close follower of Hendiyah, whose reputation had increased and whose work was growing. The letter of Propaganda declared as false the apparitions, esctasies, and revelations narrated by her, but had said nothing of her moral conduct or that of her congregation. It seems that Rome had forgotten the condemnation it had made some years before. Due to problems of communications, pontifical decisions were not easily made public. Besides, the theological and spiritual doctrines that

the seer had spoken of had given her popular esteem. How could her knowledge be purely human when she could hardly read Arabic? The truths that she enunciated were considered by the public as reflections of divine knowledge. Simple and pious souls became convinced that the superior of Bekorki was united to Christ in a real hypostatic union (415). In reality, the doctrines that she propagated were nothing original; they were simply an amalgam of ideas taken from various works in dogmatic and moral theology, expressed in Arabic by some students from Rome (416). But, situated in Bekorki, in an enchanting site, bathed in the azure of the sky and the sea, Hendiyah gave herself to a mystical enthusiasm that the prudence of no spiritual director could channel. Her convent became a site of pilgrimage. In 1759 and 1768 Clement XIII accorded indulgences to the founder, the religious, the congregation, and the visitors to Berkorki (417).

The successor of Tobias el-Khazen was to give the work of Hendiyah an even stronger push. Tobias died on May 29, 1766. On the ninth day after his death, the electoral college assembled in the Monastery of Mar Challita and on June 9, elected by unanimous vote Joseph Estephan, whose virtue, knowledge, and profound attachment to the Holy See was esteemed by all (418). It is claimed that the election of Joseph Estephan was due to the fraudulent maneuvers of Hendiyah; this assertion has no serious foundation. The new Patriarch made his residence at Ghosta (Kesrawan), in the Monastery of Saint Joseph al-Hosn, which he had founded. An ardent promoter of ecclesiatical discipline, he desired to apply the reform of the Synod of Mount Lebanon. To overcome the obstacles, he judged it necessary for Roman authority to intervene. He wrote therefore to Propaganda, and Clement XIII answered him on August 2, 1767 approving his projects (419). Fortified with this document, he prepared the Synod of Ghosta whose sessions were held from September 16-21, 1768, in the presence of an apostolic legate, Father Luigi da Bastia, custodian of the Holy Land, and of some Franciscan and Capuchin missionaries. However, the acts do not bear the signatures of the Patriarch and the

bishops. Propaganda approved the text with certain restrictions on September 4, 1769 (420).

To assure the stability of reform, Estephan sought especially to form the clergy in piety and learning. In spite of the difficulties Joseph Estephan resolved to found a new seminary in Lebanon. On January 14, 1789, he converted into a national home of education for clergy the Monastery of Ain-Warqa, over which his family exercised and still exercises a right of patronage. The new seminary was to receive 16 students, free of charge, two from each eparchy and two from the Estephan family. This institution was to render great service. A large group of Patriarchs, bishops, and priests who have honored the Maronite Church have come from Ain-Warqa.

Joseph Estephan was not preoccupied only with ecclesiastical reform. The prerogatives of his See and the spiritual and temporal interests of his people were dear to him. To defend them better, on January 4, 1771, he named the curé of Notre Dame de Versailles, the Abbé Allard, as his representative to the king of France, "in order to execute our commissions and those of our Patriarchal See of Antioch, which is placed under the protection of our great King, the Most Christian King of France and Navarre" (421). Besides, he petitioned from Louis XVI that the famous Maronite, Sheik Ghandour Sa'd el-Khoury, be consul of France to Beyrouth. Ghandour had been secretary of the Emir of the Mountain, Joseph Chihab, and his father had enjoyed the role of prime minister. The emir, who had cordial relations with Louis XVI and who greatly appreciated the merits of his secretary, supported his candidacy (422). Through letters dated August 4, 1787, Louis XVI named Sheik Ghandour to the consulate of Beyrouth, which had remained vacant since the death of Naufel el-Khazen (1752) (423).

The initiatives of Monsignor Estephan, bold and perhaps sometimes premature, aroused strong opposition against him, especially in the episcopate and in the monasteries. A campaign was led against him. Already in 1769 some bishops had held a council and showed their rancor in a collective

letter addressed to the people (424). But the Synod of Mount Lebanon had foreseen these acts of insubordination: "The Holy See shall pronounce excommunication on bishops and metropolitans, who meet in a council against him (the Patriarch), or who dishonor him, or promulgate against him injurious writings or words... The Patriarchal See is judged by no one, except Rome" (Part III, c. vi, n. 10).

The Patriarch did not fail to recall to the recalcitrants the synodal warning; the caution appeared to suffice to make them return to order. But, on November 29 they took their complaint to Propaganda. Cardinal Castelli, prefect of the congregation, answered them with a censure (425). They wrote anew, but this time directly to the Pope, on September 25, 1771. Some members of the el-Khazen family joined in a letter supporting their grievances. Clement XIV answered them lavishing wise advice and charging Propaganda with an examination of the affair (426). Far from quieting spirits, the answer of Rome rather sharpened them. The opposition profited from the irritating question of Hendiyah.

The congregation of the Sacred Heart, under the auspices of the Patriarch, had risen anew. Estephan was an ardent apostle of the devotion to the Heart of Jesus. He had made the Feast, the first Friday after the octave of Corpus Christi, a holyday of obligation in his Patriarchate, and ordered that it be celebrated with as much solemnity as Easter or the Ascension (427). He thought that it was a glory for the Maronite Church to have an institution under the name of the Sacred Heart. Also, he was happy to approve the congregation of Bekorki, to which he aggregated three other religious communities (428).

The declared protection of Joseph Estephan raised even more the prestige of the visionary, whose enthusiasm could no longer be contained within limits. Serious rumors began to circulate concerning the person of Hendiyah and her community; they spread through the Mountain. Soon, legend was added to reality, legends forged by evil or embittered minds. Among those who led the cabal were Hendiyah's

brother, Nicholas Ajeymi, S.J., lately the spiritual director and treasurer of the convent of Bekorki. At first he was a defender of his sister, but then he made an about-face when he was discharged from the convent and manifested extreme violence. Later he retracted and took the role of apologist. The same is true of Father Arsene Diab who changed his mind three times, but whose corrosive statements contributed powerfully to the destruction of the work of Bekorki (429). Hendiyah had become for her detractors the synthesis of all hypocrisies, the object of all curses, the symbol of pride, a burning flame in hell.

The extravagances of this poor girl and the strange practices of her convent served as weapons against Joseph Estephan. He was held reponsible for the misdeeds of Bekorki; he was vilified and made an accomplice to criminal acts. They desired to discredit him and to remove him dishonored (430).

Before the enormity of these calumnies, the Maronite people were dismayed. Denunciations poured into the Roman Curia. It was necessary for the Holy See to intervene anew. Two pontifical missions were sent to Syria. Father Valeriano di Prato, custodian of the Holy Places, came first. Having arrived at Harissa on July 20, 1773, he had already completed his examination on September 10 (431). Not having himself gotten a fair idea of the situation, he espoused the opinion of the opposition, but left Lebanon without solving anything (cf. the complaints formulated by the Patriarch in Abboud, *Biographie du Patriarche*, append. pp. 73-76; and compare the account of Father Valeriano with a letter addressed to Propaganda by nine bishops on September 10, 1773, and the declaration signed by them, in Abboud, *Relazioni*, t. I, pp. 217-32; t. II, p. 351-55; *Biographie du Patriarche*, pp. 35-37).

In accord with a part of the bishops and a majority of leaders, Estephan sent the Archbishop of Damascus, Arsen 'Abd'oul-'Ahad to Rome with the necessary documents in August, 1774 (432). Unfortunately, the cardinals of Propaganda had already decided the question when the patriarchal messenger arrived in Rome. He arrived only at the end of 1774, and the decision had already been rendered

on July 8. The Sacred Congregation did review the affair later on March 22, 1777, but without substantially changing the results. The enemies of the Patriarch had acquired such an influence in the Curia that in 1777 Monsignor Arsen, who had been in Rome for three years, was not able to obtain an audience with the Pope to present the purpose of his mission (433).

Propaganda charged another Franciscan, Father Pietro Craveri da Moretta, with the execution of the decrees of July 8, 1774. He arrived in Kesrawan towards the end of January, 1775 and made his residence in the Monastery of Harissa. It would take too long to describe how he conducted his mission. It suffices to say that, faced with a Patriarch who was deeply versed in canon law and possessed of a remarkable tenacity to defend his prerogatives, he put hismelf at the head of the opposition. He took such a violent attitude that the enemies of Estephan believed that everything was permitted. For example, strongly supported by the legate a bishop went so far as to publicly insult the Patriarch in a pastoral letter that he read on Easter, 1775 in the cathedral of Beyrouth(434).

The conduct of Father P. da Moretta shocked the superior of the Franciscan Monastery of Harissa where the delegate stayed. The superior describes him in harsh terms in a report that he drafted in 1779 and which is preserved in the archives of the monastery (435). The superior of Harissa speaks with great authority since he witnessed with his own eyes much of what he describes. Harissa was near Bekorki and Ghosta (436).

Joseph Estephan himself tells us of the method by which the apostolic legate got his information: he took the public statements of two or three bishops and some religious and called truth the product of their imagination (437).

The reports of Pietro da Moretta transmitted to Rome a faithful echo of all the accusations brought against Estephan. It suffices to read them to know that their author accepted the strangest stories uncritically. It is narrated, for example, that the Patriarch prostrated himself before Hendiyah to

ask that she bless him and recite prayers over his head. The legate records the thing as authentic; Estephan did not fail to protest such absurdities (438). Here is a fact attested to by an eyewitness who is not suspect, Father Tian (later Patriarch), who, having completed his studies in Rome, was designated to accompany Craveri in a second mission of which we shall speak later. One day, when Joseph Estephan had been deprived of his functions, Tian found himself at Bekorki with the Patriarchal vicar. The vicar told him that the portrait of Hendiyah was displayed near the main altar of the Church of Saint Joseph at Ghosta. This is the church of the monastery where Estephan made his residence. Tian went as soon as possible to verify for himself this strange assertion. He could not find in the church any image that would offer the least resemblance to the visionary (439). But, the Patriarchal vicar was a confidant of the apostolic legate and a principal source of information (440). Such a detail shows the ease with which one accused the Patriarch.

Be that as it may, the reports of the legate produced unfortunate consequences. On June 25, 1779, the congregation charged by the Pope to examine and judge this question, considering the information furnished by the legate, suspended the Patriarch from the power of order and jurisdiciton, except that of priest, and ordered him to come to Rome to explain his actions. A Patriarchal vicar was named who would handle affairs with the exception of elections and episcopal consecrations. This decree was confirmed by apostolic letters of July 17, 1779 (441). From all evidence, the responsibility for this decision falls heavily on Father Valeriano di Prato and Father Peter Craveri da Moretta who furnished the judges with erroneous information.

That Patriarch Estephan was mistaken in the affair of Hendiyah is not doubted. But to make him responsible for the extravagances of the visionary and especially to make him an accomplice in the scandals committed at the convent of Bekorki, is going too far. However, Estephan never departed from his submission to the Head of the Church. Pietro da Moretta himself avows this in a letter to the secretary of Propaganda on January 10, 1779 (442).

To understand the situation better, it is necessary to recall that Rome based itself, in questions of law, on the Latin text of the Synod of Mount Lebanon, while the Patriarch possessed only the Arab original. But these two texts, as we already said, have notable variations. However, the Patriarch did not cease to submit his judgment to that of Rome. The best proof is that he did not hesitate when he received the sentence against him to conform to the pontifical order (443).

As for Hendiyah, she received what she deserved for the discoveries of her imagination. Rome declared her a victim of illusions, condemned her to retract her pretended revelations and disavow her doctrines, which were characterized as false, temerarious, and touching on heresy. Then, she was relegated to a convent. As to the congregation and the confraternity of the Sacred Heart, they were definitively suppressed (444).

Hendiyah, transferred to the convent of Saïdat el-Haqlah, ended her days well and died on February 13, 1798 (445).

The Maronite Church had bowed under the blow that struck her Head. The Patriarch, in spite of painful illness which overwhelmed him, decided to go to Rome. When he arrived in Beyrouth, he was bedridden for 45 days, but did not cancel his trip (446). Before going to Saida, he got a permit from the *pacha* of that city. With regard to this permit, which would give its bearer ease of passage, Father Pietro da Moretta and Archbishop Michael el-Khazen, Patriarchal vicar, found a means to attribute perverse intentions to the Patriarch. But, Cardinal Antonelli did justice to their calumnies (447). The unfortunate Patriarch went to Saida; there, he embarked with four priests that he had chosen for companious. He had been in bad health for a long time, and, with the ravages of these last events, he could not resist the fatigue of travel: he was almost dead when the ship arrived at the port of Jaffa on June 8, 1780 and it was impossible for him to travel further. He went to the hospice of the Carmelites who showed respect in his regard. But they were not organized to care for such illness. The

next day, supported by four men, Estephan was led on horseback to the Monastery of Mount Carmel. Certificates given by three French doctors, by the vicar of Mount Carmel and two of its religious were sent to the Holy See to report the lamentable state of his health. In spite of the evidence, the Patriarchal vicar and Pietro da Moretta wished to believe that he was only faking illness (448).

Monsignor Estephan sent to Rome to represent him and defend his cause the four priests who had accompanied him. He sent with them along with the documents necessary for his rehabilitation, letters for the Pope, Cardinal Castelli, and the cardinals of the Propaganda; he also wrote to Louis XVI and to his ambassador to Rome, Cardinal de Bernis. As for himself, he resolved to await the pontifical decision at Carmel, but always with the intention of continuing his voyage, if the state of his health permitted it (449).

In the meantime the Patriarchal vicar Michael el-Khazen, following the advice of the legate Pietro da Moretta, called a synod at the Monastery of Maiphouq for July 21, 1780. Five sessions were held in which the legate presided. All the decrees rendered by Rome during the Patriarchate of Joseph Estephan were solemnly promulgated. This was a useless matter since these decrees had already been published and applied. Under the inspiration of the pontifical legate some canons relative to the discipline of the clergy and the faithful were added. The fathers of the synod declared that its purpose was to put into practice the decrees given to or sent to Father da Moretta, to apply the Synod of Mount Lebanon, and to re-establish peace in the Maronite Church. In reality, its purpose was to add the final blow to the reign of Joseph Estephan, to diminish his faithful followers, and to sing the praises of the legate and Patriarchal vicar (450).

In his letter of July 28, 1780 to the secretary of Propaganda, Pietro da Moretta claimed to have accomplished his mission and to have crowned it by holding a synod (451). In praising himself, the legate also praised the Patriarchal vicar, around whom, he said, the people had united. In other words, Estephan upset the peace; Michael

el-Khazen, under the auspices of the apostolic legate, had re-established order and concord. But Pietro da Moretta took care to say in his letter that he had to have recourse to the secular arm to force the bishops to come to the synod (452). However, letters protesting the assembly of Maiphouq did not delay arriving at Rome (cf. the account of Cardinal Antonelli in P. Abboud (453). A little later, the same account of Cardinal Antonelli shows that the concord which Pietro da Moretta had claimed that he had achieved, was only an invention (454).

When the synod was completed, Pietro da Moretta headed for Rome. From Cyprus and Alexandria, he wrote two letters, not only discourteous but insulting, to the Patriarch on August 29, and October 6, 1780 (455). The exiled prelate responded to him on November 1, 1780 with wry words. But soon after, on the ninth and tenth of the same month, he addressed to Propaganda two letters which reduced the accusations of the pontifical legate to nothing (456). At Rome the truth was slowly appearing regarding the injustices that had been committed against Estephan (457).

A detail which contributed to opening the eyes of the Holy See on the actions of the opposition supported by the legate was the treatment inflicted on the Patriarch, reducing him to indigence (458). On the order of the Sovereign Pontiff, Cardianl Antonelli, prefect of Propaganda, on September 24, 1783 addressed a strong censure to Michael el-Khazen, the Patriarchal vicar (459).

The Holy See had not yet judged concerning the re-establishment of Estephan in the Patriarchal See. The return to Rome of Pietro da Moretta expanded the substance of the reports sent by him from Lebanon in the form of little, moving writings (460). At the meeting of September 18, 1781, the congregation charged by the Pope to treat Maronite affairs, postponed the reinstatement of the Patriarch until he signed a formula of retraction. This formula, along with an explanatory letter, was sent on September 29 (461).

When the decree of postponement of September 18, 1781 reached Lebanon, the enemies of the exiled Patriarch wished his definitive downfall. They thought it necessary to discredit him still more and they did all they could to stir up public opinion against him. The Patriarchal vicar and his followers submitted Hendiyah to another interrogation and extorted from her a deposition against Estephan dictated by them. They so intimidated the poor girl that she repeated before the jury the horrors that they had imposed (462). In his forced residence at Carmel, the unfortunate Patriarch followed the whole development. When the news of the interrogation reached his ears, he was hurt by these calumnies and wrote a vehement letter to Propaganda on April 2, 1782 (463).

The formula of retraction reached the Patriarch on June 24, 1782 through Father Hilaire de Rennes, superior of the Capuchins of Saida. Estephan thought to modify the text without any ulterior motive (464).

Among other things, he was accused of according matrimonial dispensations and lifting censures in spite of his being suspended. Finally, it was claimed that he had had recourse to the *pacha* of Saida for support in his vindication.

Therefore, at the meeting held on September 15, 1783, the rehabilitation was postponed again (465).

These incidents led Propaganda to make a new inquiry. It recommended that the Pope choose the same Pietro Craveri da Moretta, whose attitude we already know, and he was given more authority by being consecrated titular bishop of Enos (466).

In the meantime, the Patriarch had left Carmel, towards the middle of June, 1782, to return to Lebanon. He wished to defend himself against the repeated attacks of the enemy and to decide his case once and for all (467). He went to the Emir of the Mountain, Joseph Chihab, and told him the purpose of his trip, asking him to name as arbiters two Catholic patriarchs, the Melkite and the Armenian, persons of integrity who were above suspicion. The emir Joseph

approved the idea. However, in spite of his insistence and that of his minister, the illustrious Maronite Sheik Sa'd el-Khouri, the Patriarchal vicar and his followers would not agree to appear face to face with their victim (468).

Monsignor Craveri left for Lebanon. Among the documents which he brought were two briefs, one for the emir Joseph Chihab and the other for the episcopate, clergy and Maronite people. He chose for secretary a young priest, Joseph Tian (later Patriarch), who had just completed his studies in Rome (469).

The apostolic visitor and Joseph Tian embarked at Livorno in the last days of November, 1783, and arrived in Alexandria on January 12. The Bishop of Enos judged it more opportune to have his secretary precede him to Lebanon to prepare the way. He gave him the letters of Rome, and others that he had written himself. Tian arrived in Beyrouth on March 6, 1784 and executed without delay the orders of his master.

There was general disappointment when it was learned that the Patriarch was not reinstated in his See and that the Pope reproached the Maronites for having disobeyed his orders. The disappointment increased when the identity of the new legate was learned. Tian was asked to return to Rome as a national legate charged with defending the cause of his Church before the Holy See and to ask for the restoration of the Patriarch. The young priest was perplexed for some time. But having studied the facts and decided the injustice of the accusations hurled against Joseph Estephan, he answered the call of his compatriots. It took him little time to clarify the situation. A native of the country, he knew its customs; he was able to mix with the people and they spoke to him with confidence.

The episcopate, clergy, and leaders gave letters to Tian. The Patriarch, on his part, wrote to explain the acts which distorted his intentions and to submit himself to the judgment of the Holy See. He copied by hand the formula of retraction as it had been drafted by Rome, and signed it. Bearing these documents, Tian left Lebanon and went to Cyprus to meet

Craveri. He explained the situation as he had judged it. The Bishop of Enos did not appreciate this. In agreeing to defend the cause of his Patriarch, Tian lost in the eyes of the legate the qualities of probity and impartiality which the bishop had first recognized in him. The reception was cold. Without losing courage, Tian continued his voyage. On July 7, 1784 he was at Livorno and some time later at Rome. His conversations and clear and well-documented reports cast light on the accusations against Estephan. The plots of the opposition appeared under the true light of day. The result of this work was as Tian had hoped. On September 21, 1784, the congregation for the Maronites, finally free of uncertainty, pronounced a definitive verdict in favor of the Patriarch. This was later confirmed by apostolic letters of the twenty-eighth of the same month (470).

Joseph Tian brought to Lebanon the precious documents which witnessed his victory and the pontifical solicitude for the nation. It was reserved to the Bishop of Enos to go himself to Kesrawan to promulgate solemnly the orders of the Holy See. This was on February 11, 1785 (471). The apostolic brief *Maximum Nobis* of September 28, 1784 declares that the Patriarch had returned to good terms. This is just a manner of style. The chief accusations were so grave that the Holy See would never have re-established Estephan in office if it had not judged him innocent.

On the order of the Holy See Estephan convoked a synod at Ain-Chaqiq on September 6-11, 1786 (472). But Pius VI threw out the acts of this council "as contrary and pernicious to the Synod of Mount Lebanon and the right direction of souls, and harmful to the juridical rights of bishops" (473).

The tone of the pontifical letter reflects, no doubt, a survival of the former intrigues in the Curia. A letter of Micheal el-Khazen of March 15, 1789 to the prefect of the Propaganda would lead us to believe that this is so (474). Be that as it may, the attitude of the Patriarch at the Synod of Ain-Chaqiq, was from a juridical view beyond reproach; he signed the acts only with the formal reservation that

Rome approve; one cannot say that he contravened any law (475).

Pius VI ordered the holding of a new synod under the presidency of Germanos Adam, Melkite metropolitan of Aleppo, who was designated as apostolic legate. The synod was assembled on December 3-18, 1790 at the Monastery of Bekorki; it had as its principal purpose to provide for the application of the Synod of Mount Lebanon and the pontifical instructions. At the ninth session, the fathers decreed the transfer of the Patriarchal See to the Monastery of Bekorki (476). The acts of this assembly were confirmed in part by the Holy See (477).

Patriarch Joseph Estephan died on April 22, 1793. A prelate of high culture, a good writer, profoundly versed in ecclesisastical science, he left a number of writings. Among others there were offices of saints meriting a choice place in Syriac literature.

The successor of Estephan was elected only on September 10, 1793; the bishops were not able to meet before this date because a plague was ravaging the country. The electoral assembly chose Michael Fadel, Archbishop of Beyrouth, who sent the archpriest George Ghanem to Rome to request the pallium and pontifical confirmation, but the Patriarch died on May 17, 1795 (478).

On June 14, the Archbishop of Cyprus, Philip Gemaiel, was proclaimed Patriarch. He sent Father Arsene Qardahi to Rome as soon as he was elected (479). At the consistory of June 27, 1796, Puis VI confirmed him and accorded the pallium (480). Gemaiel governed the Maronite Church for only a few months. He died on April 12, 1796.

Article Eight

THE 19th CENTURY

On April 28, 1796, Archbishop Joseph Tian (or Thian) was elected Patriarch. On July 24, 1797, the Pope ratified the election and sent the pallium (481).

Joseph Tian, whose theological knowledge was accompanied by vast learning, had to defend the primacy of Rome against the attacks of Germanos Adam, Melkite metropolitan of Aleppo, who had been sent as an apostolic legate to the Maronites (482). He had to resign himself to past trouble and scandals which still paralyzed his activity. No doubt, Fadel and Gemaiel had described the situation to the Holy See. But they died before the Holy See gave directives. Joseph Tian used all his forces to re-establish order and peace. Seeing that he could not achieve his goal, he preferred to retire to the cloister. He resigned his patriarchal functions in 1809 (483).

John el-Helou, Bishop of Saint John of Acre, succeeded to the Patriarchate on June 8, 1809. The election was accomplished according to the prescriptions of the Synod of Mount Lebanon. The electoral dossier arrived in Rome, and, by the letter of January 25, 1810, the Pope confirmed the election. At the consistory of December 19, 1814, Pope Pius VII formally confirmed the new Patriarch and sent the pallium with his procurator, Father Arsene Qardahi (484).

John el-Helou made his residence in the old Monastery of Qannoubin, which was run down from long years of abandonment. He tried to rebuild the ruins and restore it. In the ruins was found the record of the goods of the patriarchal monastery which had been drawn up by Patriarch Douaihi. Thanks to the precise indications of this document, John el-Helou was able to determine the encroachments that had occured and to restore to Qannoubin the goods of which it had been unjustly despoiled (485).

Material preoccupations and their necessarily-long negotiations did not hinder the Patriarch from thinking of the restoration of the spiritual order. He converted the Monastery of John Maron of Kafarhai into a seminary (486).

The greatest event in the reign of John el-Helou was the holding of the Synod of Loaisah. The return of Pius VII to Rome gave the Maronites an opportunity to testify to the constancy of their fidelity to the Vicar of Christ, and for this purpose they sent Father Joseph Assemani to Rome to offer the Pope their homage and felicitations. The Pope took this opportunity to recall the reform concerning the residence of bishops and mixed monasteries, and to order a synod to decide this matter (cf. the brief *In Communi* of November 1, 1816 and two decrees of Propaganda which were joined to the brief) (487). The bearer of these pontifical documents was the Maronite envoy himself. He arrived in Lebanon towards the middle of 1817; on February 15 he had still been in Rome (488). After long and laborious preparatory discussion, which bore on the rights of patronage of the many religious houses, the sessions of the synod commenced at the Monastery of Our Lady of Loaisah, in the presence of Al. Gandolfi, apostolic legate. The first session of April 13, 1818 was consecrated to the question of monasteries. There were four categories: seminaries, men's monasteries, women's monasteries, and monasteries for women leading a communal life without pronouncing vows. A special commission was designated to deal with the arguments concerning the rights of patronage. In the second session, April 14, the monasteries which were to serve as residences for the Patriarch and bishops were indicated, and there was an excellent decision concerning seminaries: the Monastery of Roumiyah (Rumje) would serve as the national seminary and that of Ain-Warqa was reserved for the study of rhetoric, philosophy, and theology. Unfortunately this decision remained a dead letter. Roumiyah, as Ain-Warqa, became a patriarchal seminary where one could go on to the priesthood (one finds documents relative to the Synod of Loaisah in the archives of Propaganda, *Atti* of 1818).

The acts of the synod, signed by the apostolic legate, the Patriarch and the bishops were submitted, according to the instructions of the Holy See, for pontifical approval. Propaganda made some corrections and additions, as can be seen in the decree of March 15, 1819. Pius VII, at the audience of April 4 and then by apostolic letters May 25, accorded his approval (489).

It is surprising that the reforms of the Synod of Mount Lebanon of 1736, sanctioned by Rome, had been completely realized only after the synod of 1818. Lebanon did not see things the same way as the Curia did. Mixed monasteries did not shock the people. In the East the care for the propriety of woman and the social condition which it imposed removed any danger of abuse, even among laymen: this was even more true of monasteries, where corporal mortification flourished (490). Once in a great while, some bad incident occurred and this is what motivated the reform of 1736 (491). These were isolated cases and their importance was exaggerated (cf. P. Fromage, S.J., in *Lettres édifiantes, Levant,* t. I, Lyon, 1819, p. 406 ff.; the Count Volney, *Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie pendant les Années 1783, 1784, et 1785,* t. II, 1792, p. 18; H. Guys, *Beyrouth et le Liban, Relation d'un Séjour de plusieurs Années dans ce Pays,* t. II, Paris, 1850, pp. 185-187. These testimonies are important because their authors were eye-witnesses and trained observers who would not neglect to indicate abuses, if they had encountered them).

Above all, the practice of mixed monasteries did not imply any greater danger for virtue than the presence of sisters in the episcopal residences and seminaries of the West did to the observance of vows or the obligations of the clerical state. The local authorities did not see the urgency of reform. Obstacles in the material order also hindered realization (cf. the Synod of Bekorki held in 1790, session VIII) (492). In addition, in imitation of the Second Council of Nicaea, the Synod of Mount Lebanon tolerated the monasteries already existing, but on condition that the monks and nuns lived in two sets of buildings, entirely separate (Part IV, c. II, n. 16).

Be that as it may, it was only with the coming of Patriarch Hobaich that one sees the complete disappearance of mixed monasteries. His letter of September 26, 1826, addressed to the communities of nuns and women devoted to living in the manner of religious, marks the end of this practice.

Other obstacles of the economic and even the political order hindered the application of the reform relative to the residence of bishops. Before the Synod of Mount Lebanon, the bishops, considered as vicars of the Patriarch, generally lived near him or in a monastery or hermitage. Having divided the Patriarchate into eparchies, the synod of 1736 imposed on bishops the obligation of residence. Because of the lack of episcopal residences, the heads of the new dioceses would reside in monasteries placed under the patronage of their relatives or a family which they knew, even outside their territory. This situation caused inconveniences, so much so that in the Synod of Ain-Chaqiq in 1786, at the request of the leaders of the nation, it was judged necessary to establish the residence of bishops near the Patriarch (493). The acts of this assembly, as we have said, were annulled by Pius VI and the bishops continued to act as in the past up to 1818. The Synod of Loaisah fixed the monastery where each would live, but it fell to Patriarch Joseph Hobaich (1823-45) to see to the definitive application of the decrees concerning residence. Beginning with 1835, the Maronite prelates began to endow episcopal residences in their respective eparchies. At present, residence is strictly observed and each diocese possesses its own episcopal residence (494).

John el-Helou died on May 12, 1823. His successor, Joseph Hobaich, was elected on the twenty-fifth, enthroned on the twenty-ninth, and Father Basil Dursun of the Armenian monastery of Koraim, left for Rome to accomplish the customary actions. Hobaich had neither the canonical age (40 years), nor the two-thirds' majority required for patriarchal election. Propaganda in examining the electoral dossier decided that these defects were sufficient to declare the nullity of the act of May 25, 1823. But the Pope validated and confirmed the election in the consistory of May 3, 1824 (495).

Energetic, tenacious, of an exemplary piety, purity of life, and irreproachable doctrine, Hobaich directed all of his thoughts to the observance of the reforming canons of the Synod of Mount Lebanon, the education of the younger clergy, and the protection of the Catholic faith in the souls of the people.

The College of Rome had not been in existence since 1808. The Patriarch wished to revive it; but circumstances hindered this (496). It was necessary to provide for clerical formation with the means he had. He reorganized the seminary of Ain-Warqa and erected two new ones, that of Mar Abda Harharaia in 1830 and that of Mar Sarkis and Bakhos in 1832. As with Ain-Warqa and Roumiyah, the two new seminaries rendered great services to the Maronite Church. Furthermore, in 1840, Hobaich founded and endowed the society called "Evangelical Missionaries," which did not survive him very long.

He called the priests and monks to the observation of the conciliar articles, and during his reign parochial organization made serious progress.

Unfortunately, Hobaich did not employ the same zeal to maintain liturgical traditions, even those which were sanctioned by the synod of 1736. At his request the Holy See approved the edition of a new ritual, prepared under the preceding Patriarch, but the secretary of Propaganda, Angelo Mai, later cardinal, censured it strongly. This ritual is not that of the Maronite Church (497). In the eyes of liturgists at least, this unfortunate reform of the traditional rite puts a shadow over Hobaich's reign, which was otherwise very beneficial.

His uprightness, firmness, and sincerity gained for Hobaich not only the veneration of his clergy and people, but the esteem of the Ottoman authorities themselves. The sultan accorded him the favor of having a chargé d'affaires at Constantinople and sent to him the *medjidie* of the first class, a rare distinction for this time.

The concerns of spiritual administration did not hinder Hobaich from watching over the temporal interests of his

people. In order to know them better and carry them out more effectively he established a system of two residences: one for the winter at Bekorki and the other for the summer in the region of the Cedars. But instead of the Valley of Qannoubin, which is of difficult accessibility, he transferred the residence to Diman, a neighboring locality dominating the valley. Here he built a church and alongside it, a cloister.

The tragic events of 1840-45 filled the last years of the reign of Hobaich with sadness and bitterness. They also furnished the Patriarch, on whom they imposed heavy sacrifices and cruel preoccupations, the occasion to give of the measure of his intelligence, activity, energy and charity. The Christians faced the flames, massacres, and all the horrors of civil war. It was necessary to gather them together, protect them, and vivify them. He received special felicitations from Pope Gregory XIV (cf. the brief *Quum Dilectus* of February 16, 1841) (498).

In the midst of these cruel trials, a temptation was offered to Hobaich. The diplomatic agent of a power which wished to lift the traditional influence of France on Lebanon made many approaches to him. After long and useless attempts, the agent threatened the Patriarch and the Maronites with catastrophes. Hobaich answered him: "The Maronites have France in their blood. You cannot convince me or my people to fail her." These details are related by a contemporary, Patriarch John Hadj (499).

The deplorable arrangement of a double *qaimaqamat* claimed to introduce peace in Lebanon. In reality it produced the trouble of 1845 as we have seen above. This time the Patriarch could no longer take the shock. Paralyzed, he died on May 23, 1845 (500).

The dreadful tempest which agitated Lebanon hindered the electoral college from meeting, according to custom, on the ninth day after the death of the Patriarch. It was not until August 16, 1845 that the bishops were able to assemble at Diman to elect on the eighteenth, the Bishop of Damascus, Joseph el-Khazen. The synodal letters bear the date of the eighteenth and the twenty-fourth; they were sent to Rome

according to custom. At the consistory of January 19, 1846, at the request of Nicholas Murad, Maronite archbishop of Laodicea, the Pope confirmed the new Patriarch and accorded him the pallium.

The election of Joseph el-Khazen gave place to some hostile manifestations to which the consistorial allocution of January 19, 1846, makes allusion. But, thanks to his charity, his manner both serious and amiable, the new Patriarch soon gained the sympathy of all (501).

The reign of Joseph el-Khazen marked a return to discipline in the administration of penance. The Synod of Mount Lebanon declares: "Priests should hear confessions in church and not in private homes unless for a reasonable cause... Whoever administers penance outside of church without necessity, whether he be secular, religious or even the pastor, is to be punished by the ordinary" (Part I, c. iv, n. 10). Forgetting of this law and the abuse of confession outside of churches provoked a decree of Propaganda of February 18, 1851 reinforcing the conciliar prescription and forbidding all priests, under pain of suspension *ipso facto*, to hear the confessions of the faithful in their homes outside of the case of illness or a grave cause recognized by the ordinary of the place. The Synod of Mount Lebanon had also added that the confessionals in the churches be in an open and apt place. The same decree of Propaganda renewed this prescription in regard to the confession of women, and threatened those who would disobey with suspension *ipso facto*. These measures were not without effect (502).

Patriarch el-Khazen died on November 3, 1854. The political state of Lebanon required that his successor be capable of speaking firmly to the persecutors and of providing the victims with comfort and reason to hope. A Maronite prelate possessed these qualities: Paul Mas'ad, Archbishop of Tarsus. On November 12, 1854, the bishops chose him by acclamation, and at the consistory of March 23, 1855, Pius IX confirmed him (503).

The new Patriarch inaugurated his reign by preparing for a national council to be held at Bekorki in April 1856,

under the presidency of the apostolic legate, Monsignor Brunoni. He himself drafted the text; and, to give more solemnity to this assembly, he convoked not only the bishops but the superiors-general of the three Maronite orders and their assistants, the rectors of the Latin missions, and some leaders of the nation (504).

The text of this council intended not only to assure the application of the Synod of Mount Lebanon, but also to introduce in the decrees, modifications which the circumstances required. In practice, however, its effect was insignificant. Although the Pope had written to the Patriarch to praise the work he had accomplished, the acts of the assembly were never confirmed, at least officially, and remained a dead letter (505).

It was in 1860 that the situation of the Maronite Church was most sorrowful. In the midst of the torment, Mas'ad always showed himself up to the task, and tried to lighten the miseries by using his great qualities of energy and tact to prepare the way for justice and peace. When the massacres ceased, difficulties of another order, the diplomatic, were faced by him (cf. C. de Rochemonteix) (506).

In 1867, Mas'ad went to Rome to assist at the centenary feasts of Saints Peter and Paul. He was perhaps the second Patriarch who had himself made the visit *ad limina* since Jeremias al-'Amchiti (d. 1230). He did not go to the Vatican Council but was represented by a mission headed by Peter Bostani, Archbishop of Tyre and Saida.

From Rome, the Patriarch went to Paris where Napoleon III welcomed him with all the honors due to his rank. He traveled to Constantinople. The sultan 'Abd-oul-'Aziz offered him hospitality in a palace where care had been taken to install a chapel. The Patriarch had the occasion to become familiar with Constantinople and to appraise Franco Pacha, an Aleppine of the Latin rite. He expressed the desire in official circles to see him at the head of the *moutasarrifat* of Lebanon. On September 23, 1867 he embarked for Syria; and on October 1 he was at Tripoli (507).

On June 14, 1868, Franco was named governor of Lebanon. He did not forget the approaches made in his favor at Constantinople. During his reign he had the best of relations with religious authorities. His successor, Rustem Pacha, (1872-82), was a remarkable administrator but had the character of a despot and did not preserve the policy of good relations with the ecclesiastical hierarchy. He even had anti-clerical tendencies, and in 1878 had Peter Bostani, a most venerable Maronite prelate, exiled by the sultan under the false pretext that his presence would unleash bloody conflicts between the Druzes and the Maronites (508). One can guess the concern of the Patriarch and the activity that he deployed to give this affair an honorable solution. In Lebanon there was found in this question and many others, a wise and experienced advisor in the person of John Hadj, Archbishop of Ba'albek. In France, Cardinal Guibert and Monsignor Dupanloup negotiated before the government to repair the outrage committed against the Maronite Church (509). The result was the return of the exile on conditions worthy of his person. His exile had not been long and had ended on November 9, 1878.

Mas'ad died on April 18, 1890 at the age of 85. The history of the Eastern Churches ranks him among the great patriarchs. Of a remarkable intellectual culture, he left many works:

1. *Addor-oul-manzoum* (or a refutation of the questions and responses signed by Patriarch Maximus Mazloum), printed at the Monastery of Tamich,

2. A work on the procession of the Holy Spirit in answer to Fathallah Marrach. The arguments were so well made that Marrach entered the Catholic Church.,

3. A treatise on the perpetual virginity of the Mother of God,

4. Many dissertations relating to the Maronites,

5. An historical precis of the el-Khazen family,

6. A collection of documents (510).

On April 28, 1890, the Maronite episcopate unanimously elected as Patriarch, the Archbishop of Ba'albek, John Hadj. "Never had an election been so spontaneous as that of the new Patriarch... On Monday the twenty-eighth (of April) they assembled in the grand hall of the Patriarchate to elect a Patriarch; from the beginning all the votes were for the Archbishop of Ba'albek... From night to morning to the grand admiration and joy of all, the bell of Bekorki announced the great news to the people, and the bells of the other churches made a prompt echo" (M. Saliege, superior of the College of Antoura, *Annales de la Mission*).

On May 4 there was the ceremony of enthronement and Monsignor Elias Hoyek, Archbishop of Arka (later Patriarch), left for Rome with the traditional dossier. Leo XIII accorded the pallium and confirmation at the consistory of June 23, 1890 (511).

Born at Dilebta on November 1, 1817, Monsignor Hadj, or Hage, entered the Seminary of Ain-Warqa on June 18, 1830. On December 26, 1839 he received priesthood and afterward applied himself to the study of civil law under a learned jurist of the time, Sheik Bicharah el-Khoury. The reputation that he acquired in the science of law led to his being named judge for the Christians of Lebanon in 1844. Except for a brief interruption, he exercised this delicate function with great wisdom and remarkable perspicacity until 1860.

Promoted to the episcopate on August 15, 1861, he showed himself capable of his charge and deployed in the governing of his eparchy the qualities of an intelligent administrator and a devoted pastor, very zealous for the glory of God and the salvation of souls.

Relations of close friendship united him with the deceased Patriarch. Mas'ad had made him his confidant and counselor (512). In the course of his career, John Hadj had had occasion to show the qualities of his character: prudence, firmness, perseverance, and that mastery of self that his contemporaries did not fail to admire. He had been charged

with the delicate functions of judge at a time when revolution was disrupting Lebanon. Without fear, with calm, he took the interests of those whom he administered and defended their rights with no other preoccupation than justice. He was named to head an eparchy whose bishop would have no place to rest his head, neither residence nor resource. He made his residence at the Monastery of Saidat el-Haqlah and took charge himself of the affairs and properties of the Monastery. In this way he was able to reserve its eventual revenues for the construction of an episcopal residence and endow it with sufficient resources. He went to work with force and courage and with the help of God realized his dream. He left the diocese of Ba'albek after having made it one of the most enviable bishoprics in the region. Such was the person who presided over the destiny of the Maronite Church from 1890-98.

Under his reign, the Patriarchal dignity gained a renown that it had never known. He transformed the residences and gave prestige to his office. Up to that time, the head of the Maronite Church lived in Bekorki "a monastery of high walls with widely spaced narrow windows which resembled a fortress more than a patriarchate. Around the interior court was a whitewashed cloister." (Viscont d'Aviau de Piolant, who visited Bekorki in 1880) (513). Monsignor Hadj believed that this residence was too modest for the head of a people. Scarcely had he taken possession of his office when he began the construction of a true palace on the vaults of the ancient monastery. The new residence, possessing a church, a library, special salons, and rooms serviced by large corridors, was conceived in a sober but elegant style of striking beauty. The transformation at Diman where Hadj built a new summer residence was more modest than at Bekorki. To these residences, during the reign of John Hadj, came religious and civil authorities of the East: prelates of all rites, consuls, *pachas*, governors, emirs, sheiks, and notables of all races and nationalities. The president of the French Republic decorated him with the Legion of Honor and the sultan of Turkey with the *Medjidie* of the first class and the Grand Osmanie cordon — something no other Patriarch had obtained.

The external aspect of his office was of seconday importance to the Patriarch; his principal goal was the spiritual order. He tried to promote the progress of the Maronite people in all spheres: religious, social, and intellectual. He gave a vigorous push to the establishment of schools, to the discipline of the clergy, to diverse works which would raise the level of the people. His pastoral letters witnessed this solicitude. In all circumstances, he showed himself the devoted, skilled defender of both Latin and Maronite foundations for the instruction of youth, for the help of the poor, and for the intelligent development of the Christian life. One still recalls in Lebanon the good gesture he accomplished on the day after the promulgation of the letter *Orientalium Dignitas Ecclesiarum* of November 30, 1894, by which Leo XIII took energetic measures to safeguard the ancient Eastern rites from the invasion of Latinism. Before promulgating this constitution, Leo XIII had convoked at Rome the patriarchs of the East to take part in the conferences held in the Vatican in 1894. Hadj had not been able to assist. But, in order to show his esteem and recognition of the Latin missionaries, he wrote to the Pope to praise their devotion. Adding action to words, he charged them with the complete education of Maronite youth. He repeated that in the Church there are neither Greeks, nor Latins, nor Armenians, nor Maronites, but Christians submitted to the Vicar of Christ. The Pope and Propaganda wrote to congratulate him on this attitude (cf. the pastoral letter of May 15, 1895, in which he publishes the Arabic translation of the constitution *Orientalium* and the two letters addressed to him by Leo XIII and Propaganda) (514).

The formation of the clergy occupied a choice place in the solicitude of Monsignor Hadj. Four national seminaries existed in Lebanon, but submitted to the rights of patronage in the organization of studies, discipline, and temporal matters. Hadj wished a seminary that would belong only to Patriarchal authority. To this purpose he constituted a patrimony whose revenues would suffice for this project. But to create the ecclesiastical elite which Hadj envisioned,

it was important to establish outside Lebanon Maronite centers which would permit the students the choice of the great schools. The Patriarch wished a center at Rome and another at Paris. To realize his dream, he needed a negotiator of intelligence, skill, and tenacity. He found him in the person of his vicar, the future Patriarch, Elias Hoyek. With the necessary powers and instructions, he went to work as soon as possible. In 1891, the Maronite College of Rome was officially re-established (515).

With the new college canonically erected, it was necessary to procure resources. Monsignor Hoyek made an appeal especially to French charity; he did not hesitate to knock on the door of the sultan of Constantinople, and obtained from him 500 Turkish pounds in gold. From the Ottoman capital he returned to Lebanon to describe the results of his mission to the Patriarch.

In 1893, Hoyek went to Jerusalem, accompanied by other prelates, to represent the Maronite Church at the eucharistic congress. From there he went with them to Rome in order to take part in the episcopal jubilee of Leo XIII and to complete the work of the college. To the funds gathered by him and the offerings made by the Maronites, he added a gift of 150,000 francs that the Pope had given him. He bought a large estate, *Via di Porta Pinciana*, and installed part of the Maronite College there. Later new buildings were constructed and the college was transferred there and definitively established (516).

At the same time that he collected funds for the college of Rome, Monsignor Hoyek dealt with the government of France for the concession of a church and the establishment of a procurator in Paris. He also solicited the giving of scholarships permitting some young clerics to study in France. All his negotiations succeeded as he wished. The government of the Republic opened the Chapel of Marie de Medicis, at Petit Luxembourg, to the Maronites; the Patriarch named a procurator; eight scholarships were accorded to the students.

John Hadj also wished for a Maronite center in Palestine. Monsignor Hoyek was charged with realizing the desire of

the Patriarch; and in 1895 a procurator was created at Jerusalem. Thereafter, the Maronites had a church and a house in the Holy City (517).

The complexity of the affairs for which Monsignor Hadj worked to obtain rapid solutions did not deter his attention from the rights of the Patriarchal See. He knew how to make his views known in all circumstances. The greatest case for his suggestions was made especially in Rome.

One can understand what a blow the disappearance of such a prelate would be for the Maronite nation. After eight years of an activity that was no less fruitful than intense, Hadj died on December 24, 1898, at the age of 82 (on this Patriarchate see Monsignor Joseph Debs, *History of the Maronites*, in Arabic, Beyrouth, 1905, pp. 557-59; *Bulletin de l'Association de Saint Louis*, Paris, 1890, pp. 66-79 and 106-13; 1891, pp. 67-76; 1894, pp. 67-68; 1895, pp. 71-84; 1898, pp. 51-53; 1899, pp. 94-98).

On January 6, 1899, Monsignor Elias Hoyek, Archbishop of Arka, was proclaimed Patriarch of Antioch. At the consistory of June 19, Leo XIII ratified his election and accorded the pallium to the patriarchal representative, Monsignor Paul Basbous (518).

Born at Helta toward the end of December, 1843, the young Elias entered the oriental seminary of Ghazir, founded by the Jesuits, in 1859; then, in 1866, he went to the College of the Propaganda in Rome where his studies were crowned with a doctorate in theology. In 1870, he received priesthood and returned to Lebanon.

Thanks to his virtue and his knowledge, and his grave and austere manner, his renown spread throughout the East. At first a professor of theology, he was afterwards patriarchal secretary for 17 years and during nine years, archbishop and Patriarchal vicar.

In the exercise of his functions he always gave proof of a vigorous spirit, aware of his task and responsibility, of solid good sense, clear wisdom, a resolute and loyal character, a heart desirous for union, and above all a sincere and

confident piety. There was general satisfaction with his election as Patriarch.

To encourage piety, to increase instruction, to safeguard the Faith, to watch over the maintenance of Maronite traditions, to fortify the prestige of the Patriarchate, such was the program of the government of Monsignor Hoyek; he wished to continue and develop the work of his predecessors, as he himself says in his first pastoral letter of 1899.

One of his first acts was to build an imposing summer palace at Diman, as Hadj had built a winter palace at Bekorki. He chose for this construction a hill from which the eye embraces the valley of Qadicha, refuge of a long list of Patriarchs in times of persecution. The first stone was placed on September 28, 1899, and, in memory of the past, the area received the name of Neo-Qannoubin. It is there that the patriarchal court transfers each year to spend the hot season. The grandeur of this construction should surprise no one who knows the customs of the country. The patriarchal residence is the Maronite home par excellence. The Patriarch accords as great hospitality to strangers as to his own subjects. The persons who gather at table on certain days number in the hundreds. The carrying out of temporal affairs has always been part of the Patriarch's preoccupations. From his revenues are set aside sums for works, alms, and the support of poor parishes.

The numerous popular manifestations organized in his honor, the homage rendered to his person in the civil and religious world, the marks of esteem of which he was the object at Rome and at Paris in 1905 and 1919, the very flattering honors that no Patriarch up to then had obtained, such as the grand cordon of the Legion of Honor, show the renown that he gave to the Patriarchate. Even here, Monsignor Hoyek always inspired the idea of piety; he considered the goods of the Church the things of God, and the prestige of the Patriarchate an expression of the glory of Christ. This idea directed all his acts towards his capital work, the maintenance of his people in the Faith and their defense against modern life. Not content to give purely

evangelical doctrine, he gave practical counsels, insisting on the most effective means to life in conformity with the divine teaching; he insisted on devotion to the Sacred Heart and the Mother of God. His zeal for the expansion of the cult of Mary found its symbol in the institution of a new center of pilgrimage at Harissa, in memory of the fiftieth anniversary of the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. He did the same for the cult of the Sacred Heart. After having solemnly consecrated the Maronite people to the Heart of Jesus on May 29, 1921, Monsignor Hoyek had gathered the necessary funds to raise a national monument on one of the summits of Lebanon.

One of the most proper means of developing the Christian life in people, is to infuse in the hearts of the mothers of families a sincere and clear faith. Monsignor Hoyek was thinking of this when he founded in 1895 the first congregation of teaching women of the oriental rites in Lebanon: the Maronite congregation of the Holy Family. It would render the country great service. We shall see later the remarkable spread of this new congregation.

The same concern to maintain the faith pushed the Patriarch to adapt the education of clerics to the necessities of the present time, to favor the missions, the instruction of youth, and the opening of new schools. We have already spoken above of how he worked for the restoration of the Maronite College of Rome. The development of this college did not cease to have a large place in his preoccupations. One can imagine his joy when Leo XIII increased the revenues to the point of permitting the doubling of the number of students (519).

To put the faithful in closer contact with their shepherd, Monsignor Hoyek created the Patriarchal vicariate of Egypt in 1904 with a titular bishop, and obtained from the Holy See the division of the eparchy of Tyre and Sidon (520).

He found opportunities to express his charity especially during the sad hours in which Lebanon lived during the War of 1914-18. There are numerous families who owe their survival of the fearful tempest to him.

After the torment, the populations of Lebanon, Christian and non-Christian, turned to him to defend their cause. He did not hesitate to answer their appeal. In spite of his being 76 years old, he took on the fatigue of travel and went to Paris to the peace conference in 1919 to ask for recognition of the autonomy and geographic frontiers of Greater Lebanon, under French mandate (521).

Patriarch Hoyek died on December 24, 1931 (522).

Article nine

THE PERSECUTIONS

The Ottomans undid, in a peaceful manner, the conquests of the Crusades. During the Ottoman period we see the re-establishment of the traditional patronage of France toward the Catholics of the East. "The first (capitulation) signed by Francis I in 1536 had laid the foundation for an economic, political, and religious protectorate of France. Such had developed following laborious diplomatic negotiations in the course of three centuries" (523). It was the missionaries and the negotiators who received the honor of preparing this new state of things. "At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the French influence was solidly established in Lebanon on a double basis, religious and commercial. In the religious sphere, the French sought to protect Catholic cult and to help the Maronite population molested by the Turks. In the commercial sphere, the development of our (French) commercial relations with the Levant, and the traffic in silk from Lebanon in particular were the origin of our frequent relations with this region, and then the cause of the rapid expansion of our influence. To the consuls and the missionaries fell the task of collaborating in the work that Louis XIV had fixed as the goal of his oriental policy; to develop French commerce and to protect the Catholic religion. Animated by a profound patriotic spirit, they concerted their efforts to accomplish this goal. Nowhere

better than in Lebanon is it possible to follow this double activity. Reports of consuls, relations of missionaries, reports of merchants and voyagers, the works of savants contributed to making the Maronites known in France. We (the French) became interested in this little people who, in its misfortune, placed its hope in us. Such misfortune and confidence touched the heart of the French. The court was moved by the distress of the Lebanese at the same time that it witnessed their attachment to France. The desire to better the lot of the Catholics of the East by intervening in their favor was always a tradition of our kings. To speak the truth, nothing in the capitulations conferred on them such a right. According to France, they concerned the protection of the Holy Places and religious strangers. But, for a long time, by an extension of the right of protectorate, they were equally exercised for the benefit of the indigenous Catholics themselves. Without ever recognizing it formally, the sultan had admitted it in fact. It was for our representatives in the Levant a question of tact, moderation, and circumstance. On condition that it not be invoked abusively, the patronage of France over the oriental Catholics little by little passed into custom... The Maronites had particular need of this assistance to which they have made appeal" (524).

If in certain circumstances the protection of France improved their lot, it was unable to shelter them from all religious persecution. We speak first of the Maronites of Cyprus. The invasion of the island by the Turks (1570-71) ruined their colony. A certain number of them were massacred; others returned to Lebanon; a group accompanied the Venetians to Malta. The families who remained in Cyprus had to submit, in addition to the yoke of the conqueror, to that of the Greeks, which was no less troublesome (525). Towards the end of the sixteenth century the Maronites were already reduced to nearly 1,500 souls, and dispersed in 19 villages, as we have seen from Fathers Eliano and Dandini who visited them, the first in 1580 and the second in 1596 (526). In 1686 there were no more than 150 people, scattered in eight villages (527). France intervened more

than once to lighten their suffering and permit their religious leaders to perform their pastoral functions (528). At present, they number about 5,000 distributed in five parishes.

If their brothers in Lebanon found themselves better favored by the mountains and their own organization, they were not removed from the attacks of their religious enemies; they even had martyrs. On the eve of the Ottoman conquest in 1515, the Patriarch wrote to Leo X: "We are located among infidels and heretics, from whom we suffer persecution; our goods are despoiled and we often fall under the whip" (529).

These complaints were often repeated by the Patriarchs of later times. It would take too long to describe here the persecutions suffered by the Maronites during this period. We shall content ourselves to adding to the documents already cited in the course of this study, some contemporary witnesses. An Arabic note written on a Syriac manuscript, preserved at the *Bibliotheque Nationale* in Paris under the n° 270, tells us that in 1897 of the Greeks (1586 A.D.) a persecution raged in North Lebanon, especially at Ehden. The author of this note himself was obliged to flee to Damascus (fol. 154 v°). The same testimony is found in a letter written on December 25, 1596 to Clement VIII by the future Patriarch 'Amira (530) and in a letter of 1603 of Patriarch el-Ruzzi to Cardinal Aldobrandini (531). In 1609, a request presented to Paul V to ask for confirmation of Patriarch John Makhlouf attributes the delay in election to the difficulties stirred up by the Turks (532).

A Franciscan, P. Boucher, who visited Qannoubin in 1612 narrates the following:

> The Maronites are molested by the Greeks all the time. The Patriarch told me at Qannoubin when I was there that the Greeks had made them pay more than 2,000 sekins during the last three years. They had been condemned to pay the great Turk in satisfaction for disobediences of which they had been falsely accused by these schismatic impostors (533)...

On June 1, 1655 Patriarch John Safraoui wrote to Alexander VII that the Maronites were prey to all kinds of difficulties (534).

In 1659 the enemy had so pressed them that they found refuge only in flight. Their goods had been despoiled and their infants were being taken to be sold as slaves. The Patriarch, who had tried to buy them back, was hardly spared; he was obliged to flee to escape the sword of assassins (535).

In 1696, the Cardinal Secretary of State asked the nuncio of Paris to have the king intervene in favor of the Maronites who groaned under the weight of tyranny for the cause of the Faith (536).

An example of the last years of the seventeenth century illustrates in tragic manner the barbarism of certain *pachas* of Tripoli. It deals with the tortures inflicted on Sheik Younes, head of the Maronite family of Rezq. A true martyr in the full meaning of the word, he was impaled for the cause of his religion (537). "It was unfortunately not an isolated fact. All of Lebanon groaned under the exactions of the Turks. Their violence knew no limits. They destroyed villages, dispersed the inhabitants, hurled fathers of families into prison, hung women to trees. Without respect for the sacerdotal dignity, the Patriarch and bishops were also insulted. In order to escape new affronts, they 'dressed in secular clothes' and had to flee to the rocks in the high mountain." Ristelhueber refers to a letter of the Patriarch to the king on March 20, 1700, preserved in the National Archives of Paris, *op. cit.*, p. 205 (cf. also Douaihi, *Annales*, 1634, fol. 105 v°; Father E. Roger, *La Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1664, pp. 495-97; a narration of missions of the Society of Jesus in Syria in 1654 and 1655, in A. Rabbath, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 245, 246; a relation written in 1654 by Father Poirresson, superior of the Jesuits of Persia and Syria, among the manuscripts of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris, *Collection Moreau*, n. 842; a letter of Patriarch Douaihi to the Pope, September 11, 1865 in Anaissi, *Collection* p. 130-31; various letters written in 1697 and 1701 by Louis XIV, the Marquis de Torcy and Pontchartrain in De La Roque, *op. cit.*, t. II, pp. 290 ff).

In consideration of all their sufferings endured for the cause of the Faith, Alexander VII said to the Maronites, "Thanks be to God you flourish as roses among the thorns of oriental infidels, heretics, and schismatics" (538).

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw more cruel persecutions for the Maronites on the part of their traditional enemies. On August 1, 1704, their bishops and leaders complained to Clement XI (539). On the issue of the synod of 1736, the pontifical legate J.-S. Assemani wrote to Cardinal Fleury on October 15 of the very pathetic conditions (540).

This enumeration of witnesses, although incomplete, suffices to show the sad situation of the Maronites for many centuries. One can say that up to the middle of the nineteenth century they lived in a nearly-always-precarious state, the butt of religious persecution. Three victims of the massacres of 1860 were beatified on October 10, 1926. Pius XI had joined their cause with that of eight Franciscans who had been martyred with them at the Monastery of Damascus. They were the three brothers, Francis, 'Abdoul-Mo'ti and Raphael Massabki, who on July 10, 1860, hastened to help the religious and shared their lot (541).

If the Catholic faith was preserved and maintained in Lebanon in the face of all things for many centuries of battles, suffering and violent persecutions, it was certainly by a miracle, and this is without doubt the miracle of the Maronite Church.

Article ten

INTELLECTUAL RENAISSANCE

In spite of the harsh conditions in which it struggled, the Maronite Church showed a remarkable vitality. The College of Rome gave her a large group of Patriarchs, bishops, and

writers who in their country became the first and principal instigators of intellectual renovation in Lebanon. Thanks to them, the movement towards studies spread to the most distant regions, and it can be said that all of modern Syria owes its progress in large part to the impulse given by this elite of untiring workers, who came out of the Maronite College of Rome. It is to them that the honor goes for having spread the knowledge of the East to the West (542). In the seventeenth century, they are encountered both in the East and the West dedicated to scientific and literary works. We cite only some of the more well-known names.

Gabreil Sionita, after having been professor at the College of Sapienza in Rome, was called to Paris in 1614 by Louis XIII. He founded at the College of France, Arabic and Syriac chairs, and was their first head. To the functions of professor of oriental languages he added those of *drogman* of the king. He published noted works and collaborated on the Polyglot Bible of Le Jay. The author of the introduction of the Polyglot of London said of him: "We would be ungrateful if we would not recognize this great man, learned in all the languages of the Scriptures" (B. Walton, *In Biblia Polyglotta Prolegomena*, Leipzig, 1777, p. 609). He had for his principal assistant another student of the College of Rome, John Hesronita. On Sionita, see Monsignor Ignatius Ziade in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, under "Sionite."

The successor of Sionita at the College of France was another Maronite, Abraham of Ekel, or Ecchellensis, or Al-Haqilani. Before coming to Paris he was professor of Arabic and Syriac at the University of Pisa, at the Sapienza, and at the College of the Propaganda of Rome. Besides his numerous works (cf. *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, t. I, col. 116-118; and *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique*, t. I, col. 169-71), Al-Haqilani also collaborated on the bible of Le Jay and on other publications, especially the *Biblia Sacra Arabica* printed by the Propaganda in 1671. In the account of his voyage to Syria in the seventeenth century, De la Roque dedicates more than two pages to Al-Haqilani "whose high reputation and works are so

well-known by savants. His esteem is also honored by the most distinguished prelates, and the most illustrious men of letters of Europe" (543).

De La Roque has preserved for us the names of other Maronite scholars of this time, especially that of Faustus Nairon (Morhedj Ibn Namroun) who "was born at Ban, a large town of Mount Lebanon located near Qannoubin, whose inhabitants speak the Syriac language even today. Abraham Al-Haqilani, his maternal uncle, had him come to Rome where he distinguished himself among his compatriots especially for his great competence in oriental languages. Afterwards he succeeded Al-Haqilani in the chair of professor at the College of Sapienza and as interpreter of Propaganda... I have received some Latin letters from this Maronite scholar, as I have mentioned elsewhere..." (544).

Al-Haqilani and Nairon (J. Matthew), brother of Faustus made the first catalogue of oriental manuscripts of the Vatican: *Catalogus Codicum Mss. Linguarum Orientalium Vaticanae Bibliothecae, Nempe Linguae Arabicae, etc. Inceptus ab Abrahamo Ecchellensi, et Absolutus a Jo. Matthaeo Nairono Banesio, Maronitis, in Eadem Bibliotheca Scriptoribus An. 1686* (545).

We can cite among the Maronite scholars of the seventeenth century, Peter Moubarak, born in June, 1663 at Ghosta and died in Rome in 1742. He was nine years old when he was sent to the Maronite College in Rome in 1672. After having spent 13 years, he received the doctorate and returned to Lebanon in 1685. Patriarch Douaihi sent him to Rome to settle the difficulties pending between the Franciscans and the Maronites. Having completed his mission, he went to Florence. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosmos III de Medici, named him head of his library, then professor of sacred sciences at the University of Pisa. In 1707, he entered the Society of Jesus, and Clement XI charged him with the revision of oriental books which would be printed. Among his works, he translated into Latin the works of Saint Ephrem and published two volumes of them. In 1742 he died before the third volume was completed. Stephen Awad Assemani, his contemporary and compatriot, inserted in it a biographical

note on the deceased translator (p. xii-xvi). One finds another copy of it in Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, t. I.

In the eighteenth century, the Maronite Church produced men whose activity went beyond the Maronite circle. We shall content ourselves with speaking of the Assemani.

It was an Assemani (Elias) who brought to Europe some of the first oriental manuscripts. He was at Rome when Clement XI, told of inestimable literary riches in the East, sent him to the monastic libraires of Nitria. He returned with 40 books. It was reserved to his nephew, Joseph-Simon Assemani (d. 1768) to gather a more abundant harvest of Greek, Syriac, and Arabic manuscripts. The new mission delegated to him by the same Pontiff resulted in the forming of a precious collection of works which augmented considederably the resources of the Vatican. This collection still remains one of the principal sources of ecclesiastical history of the East. If one adds the *Codices* acquired by Al-Haqilani, Faustus Nairon, Andrew Scandar, and Gabriel Hawa, one can see what the Vatican Library owes to the Maronites (546).

J.-S. Assemani was not content with giving the Vatican Library numerous and important manuscripts; he also wrote about them. His activity was not confined to Syriac literature, and his works show his depth of thought as well as the range of his learning. Unfortunately, in 1768 a fire destroyed the greater part of his work. The list of his works is preserved for us by Cardinal Mai; we give it here and it serves to complement the article, Assemani (Joseph Simon), t. I, col. 2120-22 of the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique.*

1. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (of which the first four volumes are published, Rome, 1719-1728): t. V. *De Syriacis et Arabicis Sacrarum Scripturarum Versionibus*; t. VI. *De Libris Ecclesiasticis Syrorum*; t. VII. *De Conciliorum Collectionibus Syriacis*; t. VIII. *De Collectionibus Arabicis*; t. XI. *De Scriptoribus Arabicis Christianis*; t. XI and XII. *De Scriptoribus Arabicis Mahometanis.*

2. *Kalendaria Ecclesiae Universae* (of which the first six volumes are published, Rome, 1755): t. VII. *Kalendaria*

Vetusta Graecorum; t. VIII. *Eadem Syrorum Maronitarum, Jacobitarum et Nestorianorum*; t. IX. *Eadem Armenorum*; t. X. *Eadem Aegyptiorun et Aethiopum*; t. XI and XII. *Eadem Latinorum.*

3. *Italicae Historiae Scriptores* (of which the first four volumes are published, Rome, 1751-1753): t. V. and VI *De Antiquis Rerum Neapolitanarum et Sicularum Scriptoribus*; t. VII and VIII *Anecdota Rerum Neapolitanarum et Sicularum Monumenta. Subjiciuntur Alia Hujusmodi ad Res Italicas Spectantia, Nimirum ad Regnum Longobardicum, Ducatur Romanum, Spoletinum, Foroiuliensum, Tusciae,* etc.

4. *De Sacris Imaginibus et Reliquiis*: t. I. *De Sacris Imaginibus Musivis, Pictis, et Anaglyptis, Quae in Vetustis Orientis et Occidentis Ecclesiis Servantur*; t. II. *De Sacris Imaginibus, Quae in Antiquis Mss. Codicibus Latinis, Graecis, et Orientalibus Adservantur*; t. III. *De Sacris Imaginibus D.N. Jesu Christi*; t. IV. *De Sacris Deiparae Virginis Imaginibus in Oriente et Occidente Cultis*; t. V. *De Sacris Palaestinae Locis et Venerandis Reliquiis, Quae ad Christum Dominum et ad Virginem Deiparam Referuntur. Excerpta ex Hujus Operis t.* 1° *Vulgavit. I. Bottarius in Dissertatione de Lateranensibus Parietinis Nicolai Alemanni Recusa Romae Anno MDCCLVI: Haud Exigua Pars ex Incendio Erepta.*

Synodus Antiochena Maronitarum a Josepha Petro Gazeno Patriarcha, Eiusque Archiepiscopis Episcopisque Celebrata in Monte Libano Anno 1736, *Praeside Josepho Simonio Assemanio Clementis XII. Ablegato Apostolico, Qui Eamdem Synodum Arabice Composuit, et Latine Reddidit. Latinum Exemplar a Benedicto XIV. Approbatum et Confirmatum Estat in Archiv. S, Congregationis de Propaganda Fide*; *Arabicum Vero ad Archetypum Collatum, Quocum Concordare Testantur Ejusdem Synodi Patres, Quorum Subscriptiones et Sigilla in Calce Occurrunt, Servatum Est ex Incendio.*

5. *Euchologia Ecclesiae Orientalis Complectentia Ritus et Ordines Divinae Liturgiae, Officiorum, Sacramentorum, Consecrationum et Benedictionum, Additis Doctorum Utriusque Ecclesiae Opusculis Nondum Editis, in Septem Libros Distributa*: 1. I. *Euchologium Ecclesiae Syriacae Maronitarum*; 1. II. *Ecclesiae Syriacae Jacobitarum*; 1. III. *Ecclesiae Syriacae Nestorianorum*; 1. IV. *Ecclesiae Graecae Melchitarum*; 1. V. *Ecclesiae Armenorum*;

1. VI. *Ecclesiae Aegyptiacae Coptorum*; 1. VII. *Ecclesiae Aethiopicae Abyssinorum.*

6. *Concilia Ecclesiae Orientalis Sex in Tomos Digesta, Quorum Plurima Vel Integra, Vel Magna ex Parte in Lucem Exeunt ex Mss. Codicibus Orientalibus*: t. I. *Concilia Ecclesiae Syriacae Maronitarum*; t. II. *Chaldaeorum Seu Nestorianorum*; t. III. *Syrorum Jacobitarum*; t. IV. *Coptorum*; t. V. *Armenorum*; t. VI. *Graecorum, Albanorum. Ruthenorum,*

7. *Syria Vetus et Nova. Libri IX*: t. I. *Summaria Totius Syriae Descirptio*; t. II. *De Palaestina*; t. III. *De Phoenice*; t. IV. *De Syria Coele et Euphratesia*; t. V. *De Mesopotamia*; t. VI. *De Assyria*; *t.* VIII. *De Cilicia*; t. VIII. *De Arabia*; t. IX. *De Aegypto*; *Liber I et IX cum Variis Fragmentis Ceterorum Librorum ex Incendio Erepti Fuere.*

8. *Historia Orientalis. Libri IX*: t. I. *De Syris Maroniis*; t. II. *De Graecis Melchitis*; t. III. *De Drusis et Nazaraeis*; t. IV. *De Mahometanis*; t. V. *De Coptis*; t. VI. *De Syris Jacobitis*; t. VII. *De Aethiopibus Sive Abyssinis*; t. VIII. *De Syris Nestorianis*; t. IX. *De Armenis.*

9. *Dissertatio Theologica de Validitate Ordinis ab Episcopis Aegyptiis Collati*; *Nec Non Dissertationes Aliae, Relationes et Vota in Variis Causis et Dubiis Christianorum, Praesertim Orientalium, Josepho Simonio Assemanio a SS. Congregationibus de Propaganda Fide et s. Inquisitionis Commendari Solitis*: *Quae Scripta Extant in Archiis Earumden Congregationum. Ea Autem Omnia in Unum Congesta, Centum Magna Volumina Minimum Conficiunt.*

10. *Grammatica Syriaca Absolutissima Arabice Exposita, Notis et Vocalibus Anitama, ex Incendio Erepta.* — A. Maï, *Script. Vet. Nova Collection*, t. IIIa, p. 166-168.

Add the *Bibliotheca Juris Orientalis Canonici et Civilis*, five in 4°, Rome, 1762-66.

It is not surprising that J.-S. Assemani was respected and esteemed throughout Rome. He was prefect of the Vatican Library, canon of the Basilica of Saint Peter, referendary prelate to the Two Signatures, consultor to the Holy Office, sigillator of the Apostolic Penitentiary, etc.

The example of J.-S. Assemani was followed by his nephews, Stephen Awad and Joseph Aloysius, and by his grand nephew, Simon.

Stephen Awad Assemani, Archbishop of Apameus, prefect of the Vatican Libarary (d. 1782), after having studied the oriental manuscripts of the Laurentiana of Florence, published the *Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae et Palatinae Codicum Mss. Orientalium Catalogus*, in fol., Florence, 1752, and published the *Acta Sanctorum Martyrum Orientalium*, 2 in fol., Rome, 1748. He worked with his uncle on the publication of *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codicum Mss. Catalogus*, 3 in fol., Rome, 1756-59, and drew up the *Catalogo Della Biblioteca Chigiana*, in fol., Rome, 1764. We owe also to him the catalogue of Persian and Turkish manuscripts and in large part, the Arabic manuscripts of the Vatican, published by A. Maï (547).

Joseph Aloysius Assemani (d. 1783), member of the pontifical academy, is especially known as the author of the *Codex Liturgicus Eclesiae Universae*, 13 in 4°, Rome, 1749-66 (548). To his nephew, Simon Assemani (d. 1821), of the academy of sciences, letters, and arts of Padua, and professor of oriental languages of the University of Padua, we owe the *Catalogo de'Codici Manoscritti Orientali della Biblioteca Naniana*, 2 in 4°, Padua, 1787-92.

The activity of the Maronite writers of the seventeenth and of the eighteenth centuries was praised by the celebrated French orientalist, Rubens Duval: "If one excepts Renaudot who, in his collection of oriental liturgies, translated the Syriac liturgies, it is necessary to recognize that it is the Maronites and especially the family of the Assemani to whom goes the honor of having initiated the scholars of Europe in the literary riches contained in the Syriac manuscripts. These manuscripts were not yet very numerous in our libraries. J.-S. Assemani has endowed the Vatican Library with a large collection, which he took in part from the Monastery of Our Lady of the Syrians, situated in the Nitrian desert in Egypt; it is from this collection that he takes the material for his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*. The catalogue of

oriental manuscripts of the Vatican which he drafted with the aid of Stephen Awad Assemani has permitted other orientalists to continue and improve their work, but the Vatican Library was at that time little accessible to foreigners. The other libraries of Europe, less rich, had not yet published their catalogues, with the exception of the Laurentiana of Florence, whose oriental manuscripts Awad Assemani had described, and among these manuscripts were some Syriac ones" (549).

Far from ending in the eighteenth century, this intellectual renaissance began to diminish only in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Seminaries and national colleges were multiplied. Latin religious congregations opened other establishments in Lebanon and Syria. Of the first rank we should cite the University of Saint Joseph, established by the Jesuits. Some of the elite of the clergy were formed at Saint Sulpice in France, the Oriental Seminary of the Jesuits in Beyrouth, the College of the Propaganda, the new Maronite College in Rome, and at the Faculty of Catholic Theology at the University of Strasbourg.

ARTICLE ELEVEN

THE UNION OF CHURCHES

This history would be incomplete if we passed over in silence the part that the Maronites played in seeking the union of Churches. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a movement arose in the East for a return to the center of catholicity. The Maronite clergy enjoyed a role of primary importance. When the Chaldean patriarch Elias VI (1591-1617) sent a legate to Paul V to receive the doctrine of the Church of Rome, the Pope wrote to the Maronite Patriarch and to the Archbishop of Ehden, George 'Amira, to thank them for the services two Maronite students of the Maronite College in Rome had rendered in this whole affair (550).

The Maronites took an active part in the formation of the Syrian Catholic Church. Andre Akidjan, who became the first patriarch of this new community, owed his education to them. Born at Mardin of Jacobite parents, he was entrusted to the Maronite Patriarch Joseph Halib al-Aqouri (1644-48), who admitted him at first among the monks and later sent him to the College in Rome. The successor of al-Aqouri conferred on him the priesthood, and on June 29, 1656 consecrated him Bishop of Aleppo. But, in the following year, the new Syrian bishop, faced with grave difficulties, abandoned Aleppo and took refuge in Qannoubin. Douaihi, the future Maronite Patriarch, came to be ordained priest on March 25, 1656. He encouraged Akidjan and with the help of the missionaries of Tripoli convinced him to re-enter the episcopal city. He accompained him to Aleppo and for many months supported him, aided him, and reaffirmed the united Jacobites in their faith (551).

Certain authors, basing themselves on an account written in Aleppo in 1662 by superiors of the missions of the Jesuits, Capuchins, and Carmelites affirmed that Akidjan was at the College of the Propaganda in Rome (552). But, Douaihi, who was in Rome at the same time as the future patriarch of the Syrians, is a more sure authority than the missionaries. According to him, Akidjan was at the Maronite College (553).

The devotion of the Maronites to their brothers in neighboring Churches did not diminish in the course of the eighteenth century.

At the death of Athanasius III Dabbas, Melkite patriarch, there arose in 1724 a struggle between Cyril VI Tanas and Sylvester of Cyprus for the possession of the Patriarchal See of Antioch. At the instigation of Phanar there was unleashed, especially in Aleppo, a terrible persecution against the Melkites united with Rome (554). A good number of them took refuge in Lebanon and came to the Maronite Patriarch, then James 'Aouad. He welcomed them and gave them the hospitality of the Monastery of Qoshaiya. The Melkite orthodox of Koura (North Lebanon) learned of this and along with those of Tripoli, denounced the Patriarch

and the people to the *pacha* of Tripoli as traitors to the empire. James 'Aouad had to take refuge also at Qoshaiya. But thanks to the influence of the Khazen, the anger of the *pacha* was calmed. A little while later, Cyril VI Tanas himself fled to Lebanon. The Maronite episcopate received him with fraternal eagerness. Then, Patriarch and bishops wrote to the ambassador of France to Constantinople in his regard. Unfortunately, the letter fell into the hands of Sylvester, his rival. Sylvester, put in the See of Antioch by the Holy Synod of Constantinople and having attended to the *firman* of civil recognition, accused James 'Aouad and his bishops of treason for having defended the Melkite Catholics. The *pacha* of Tripoli sent troops to the Monastery of Qannoubin. They pillaged and seized the monks and the brother of the Patriarch and led them to prison in Tripoli. Detained as criminals, they were freed only for gold. As for James 'Aouad and his bishops, they remained in hiding up to the re-establishment of order by the efforts of the Khazen (The account of these events is found in the records of the Monastery of Qoshaiya, cited by J. Darian, *Les Maronites au Liban*, p. 164-71) (555).

With the same devotion the successor of 'Aouad placed the prestige of his authority at the service of union. Elias, patriarch of the Nestorians at Mossul, professed the teaching of the Catholic Church in 1735 (556).

The same devotion was manifested in regard to the Armenians to whom "the Maronites opened their arms" (557).

Joseph Simon Assemani and his nephew Stephen Awad worked for the same cause in Egypt and elsewhere. The success of their mission is recounted by Assemani himself (558).

These indications suffice to show the activity of the Maronites in promoting union. An assembly held at Aleppo in the eighteenth century which brought together the heads of different Christain confessions of this city: Maronites, Melkites, Syrians, Armenians and the superiors of the Latin religious communities, declared that the Maronite Church

was the refuge of all the oriental peoples. One should add: and the worker for rapprochement with the non-Catholics (559).

Father Dandini, after his voyage to Lebanon in 1596, described the Maronite people to Clement VIII as the vanguard of the Catholic missions in the East (560).

PART IV

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE MARONITE CHURCH

CHAPTER ONE

ECCLESIASTICAL HIERARCHY

There are no official statistics for the Maronite Church. The numbers that we give are the result of a personal inquiry and have only an approximate value. The Maronite Church comprises 10 eparchies or dioceses, 850 parishes, 700 secular priests, and 1,300,000 faithful, established in the East, the two Americas, Africa, Europe, and elsewhere. Lebanon, the cradle of the rite, remains the Maronite country par excellence.

Five patriarchal or diocesan seminaries are in operation in Lebanon. A certain number of young men from all the dioceses are sent to Rome, Paris, and Strasbourg. The Oriental Seminary of the University of Saint Joseph of Beyrouth always has Maronite seminarians. A seminary has been opened in Washington for the Maronites in the United States. All of these establishments contain 350 Maronite ecclesiastical students.

The Maronite hierarchy is composed of orders and dignities as in all churches. The Synod of Mount Lebanon states: "The minor orders are those of cantor, lector, and subdeacon; the major orders are those of deacon, priest, and bishop. The dignities are those of archdeacon, periodeute, archpriest, chor-bishop, and patriarch" (II, xiv, 48).

1. *The minor orders: those of cantor or psalmist, lector and subdeacon.*

a) The *order of cantor* — The Maronite liturgy does not have a special ceremony for tonsure; this is included in the ordination of cantor or psalmist: "The ordination of cantor contains for us clerical tonsure; the bishop shall preserve it with exactitude, for in certain manuscripts which come from

the Jacobites and which those who are ignorant take for ours tonsure is omitted" (561).

The function of the psalmist consists in singing the psalms and hymns, and the reading of the books of the Old Testament, with the exception of the prophets (562). He also receives the power to exorcize. "According to our rite, exorcist is contained in the lowest order, that of cantor. One who is ordained cantor receives the power to impose hands on the possessed and to expel demons... But he is not to exercise this function without the special permission of the bishop, who should accord it only to priests, or, in case of necessity, to deacons" (563).

b) The *order of lector* — The lector is charged with reading the prophetic lessons. "In our rite, the scriptural lessons are divided into five categories and assigned to the various orders. The first comprises the Old Testament except for the prophets; the second, the prophets; the third, the Catholic epistles and the Acts of the Apostles; the fourth, the epistles of Paul; the fifth, the Gospels. Cantors read the first, lectors the second, subdeacons the third, deacons the fourth, and archdeacons the fifth. When in a church there are only lectors, they read all the lessons, and the priest, the Gospel. When there is a priest and a deacon, the priest reads the Gospel and the deacon the epistle. When a deacon and subdeacon assist the priest, the subdeacon reads the epistle and the deacon the Gospel, for the archdeacon is superior to the deacon by jurisdiction but not by order" (564).

c) The *subdeacon* — The subdeacon cumulates the functions of the porter, acolyte and subdeacon of the Latin Church. "The office of subdeacon is to serve the deacon, to guard the doors of the church, to ring the bells, to carry the candle, to light the lamps of the church, to prepare water and wine for the sacrifice of the altar, to present to the celebrant water to wash his hands and the cloth to dry them, to wash palls and corporals, to give the deacon the chalice and the paten during the sacrifice, and finally to read in church the lessons taken from the Catholic epistles and the Acts of the Apostles. Therefore, the subdeaconate contains

three orders which in the Roman Church are conferred separately: porter, acolyte, and subdeacon" (565).

This enumeration of the functions of the subdeacon is followed by the note that fixes the rules for ecclesiastical celibacy for the Maronite Church: "Since we consider subdeaconate among the minor orders, the subdeacon is not obliged to the canonical hours nor to celibacy, as are deacons and priests. It is permissible for him, even after ordination, to take a wife; if this woman is a virgin and if he is married only once he is able to be promoted to the higher degrees of the priesthood. But if, after his ordination, he marries a second time, or a widow or a non-virgin, his marriage is valid; but all access to diaconate and priesthood is forbidden, and he would no longer be able to fulfill in the Church the functions of his order. This is true also of cantor and lector" (566).

The *Moto Proprio: Crebrae Allatae Sunt* of February 22, 1949 extends the diriment impediment to marriage to subdeacon (Can. 62). Subdeaconate becomes in the Eastern Churches as in the Latin Church a diriment impediment and the subdeacon is incapable of contracting marriage.

Formerly, as in the other Eastern Churches, the members of the secular clergy were generally all married. This is why candidates for the episcopate were chosen from among the monks. But, after the foundation of the Maronite College in Rome, the celibacy of clerics, without being imposed by law, began to be introduced into practice; the establishment of seminaires supported and favored this spontaneous movement towards absolute continence. At present the great majority of secular clerics are celibate. It has not been judged apropos to abolish the primitive discipline which authorizes the bishop to confer sacred orders on married persons without forbidding them to use their conjugal rights.

2. *The major orders: diaconate, priesthood, and episcopate.*

a) The *diaconate* — It is the first of the major orders in the Maronite Church; it imposes on the cleric the obligation of the breviary. "The office of deacon is to assist the priest at

the altar, to incense the church and the people, to read publicly the epistle and Gospel, to bring the bread and wine to the celebrant, to shake the swatter to keep insects away from the altar, to distribute the Eucharist to deacons and lower clerics and to the people, to baptise solemnly in the absence of the bishop and the priest, to preach with permission, to be proposed by the bishop to administer the funds of the church" (567).

b) *Priesthood* — We do not have anything in particular to say about the order of priesthood. But we shall touch on parochial organization.

Before the Council of Trent many curés were frequently found in the same territory. Because of the inconveniences which resulted, the fathers of the council required that each parish have its own unique pastor (Sess. XXIV, c. 13, *De Ref.*). The Synod of Lebanon adopted this reform: "There is distinguished from bishops, pastors, each with his own parish" (568). This rule of a unique pastor was not rigorously observed any more in the West than in the Maronite Patriarchate (569). Only with the promulgation of the Code of Canon Law was there a complete and definitive disappearance of the former practice in the Latin Church (Can. 460, # 2. Cf. also a response of the pontifical commission for the interpretation of the Code in *Acta Apost. Sed.*, 1922, t. XIV, p. 526).

In the East, with the Maronites and others, there continues the practice of many priests simultaneously and equally charged to preach Christian doctrine and administer the sacraments to the same people, without one of them having authority over the others as a pastor over his vicars.

c) The *episcopate.*

i. *Residential bishops* — Up to the Synod of Mount Lebanon, the eparchies were not delimited, nor even known. The bishops were considered as auxiliaries of the Patriarch. Also they had the habit of bearing indifferently the titles of bishop, archbishop, or metropolitan. By two decrees of 1625 and 1635, the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda had ordered the canonical division of the Maronite Patriar-

chate into eparchies or dioceses. These two decrees are cited by Father Rodota in his report concerning the Synod of Mount Lebanon, preserved in the Vatican (*Cod. Vat. Lat.* 7401, fol. 217 v°). But this prescription remained a dead letter until the synod of 1736.

The Synod of Mount Lebanon divided the Patriarchate into eight eparchies: Aleppo, Beyrouth, Byblos (Jebail and Batroun), Cyprus, Heliopolis (Ba'albek), Tripoli, Tyre and Sidon (570). At the same time they drew the boundaries, the fathers of the synod designated the monasteries which ought to serve as residences for the bishops. But these monasteries were not all found in the territories of the respective eparchies. This canonical anomaly, due to the political state of the country and the material situation of the bishops, disappeared only in the nineteenth century as we have already seen.

The institution of dioceses was contested as we have seen above. Benedict XIV had to intervene to decide this question definitively. The brief *Apostolica Praedecessorum* of February 14, 1742 listed the seven episcopal sees outside the Patriarchal See, fixed the boundaries, declared the bishop of each immovable, and gave the Patriarch the right to name bishops according to custom. The Patriarch is obliged to visit the dioceses every three years and receive the customary tithes; he keeps the right to consecrate the holy oils and to distribute them to the seven dioceses. For the period of transition, the bishops living at the time would remain Patriarchal vicars until their number was reduced to seven (there were eleven at the time). When they were reduced to seven the Patriarch would assign each to the diocese which seemed best (571).

In 1906, the eparchy of Tyre and Sidon was divided into two (572). In 1946, a Patriarchal vicariate was erected for Egypt (the eparchy of Cairo).

According to the canonical provision for dioceses, the Patriarch acts in this manner: when a see becomes vacant, he names at first an administrator to whom is confided the

government of the eparchy, and for whom he exactly determines the powers. The Patriarch then concerns himself with designating a bishop. But, he is not entirely free in his choice of a candidate: he needs the assent of the bishops by majority vote. Besides, the law requires the consultation of the vacant eparchy. However, the clergy and faithful express only their wishes; the decision remains with the Patriarch and the bishops (573).

ii. *Titular bishops* — The nomination of titular bishops is made in the same manner. The Synod of Lebanon did not determine the number of prelates of this category. It makes the following dispositions on the subject: The episcopate can be conferred, *honoris causa*, on various persons, especially among the heads of monasteries; but, to repress all ambition which these titular bishops might have to claim a jurisdiction to govern, to the detriment of the unity of dioceses, it is decided that no diocese shall be divided and that titular bishops should promise in writing not to demand from the Patriarch any jurisdiction, except in the case of the vacancy of a diocese. Those who disobey would be suspended ipso facto and could not be relieved from this penalty except by consent of the synod and the bishop of the diocese where they had claimed jurisdiction (574).

The right to deliver to the new bishop the sacred certificate was reserved to the Patriarch alone, or, when it was a matter of residential prelates, synodal letters of jurisdiction, without which the latter could not take possession of their see (575).

We should note that Rome could not intervene in the choice of bishops. Recently, however, the Sovereign Pontiff has published in consistory the name of two new prelates under this form: "We have ratified the promotions and elections canonically done by the synod of the Maronite bishops" (576). The first publication of this kind dates from June 21, 1926 (577).

This was the old law. Henceforth, the nomination of bishops would follow the rule of the *Moto Proprio* of Pius XII "Cleri Sanctitati" of June 11, 1957 (Can. 252-55). The

Patriarch presents the candidates to the episcopal body. The bishops vote by secret ballot. A candidate is elected if he receives the absolute majority of votes. But in order for the election to have effect, it is necessary that at least before the publication of the result, the names of the candidates be communicated to the Holy See and agreed to.

3. *The dignities.*

a) The *archdiaconate* — The archdeacon occupies the first rank in the diaconal order. Of the prerogatives that one enjoyed formerly, there remains only the precedence over deacons and lower clerics, and the power to read the Gospel. In practice, it is not even precedence over deacons, since the dignity of archdeacon is generally accorded today to all deacons. It is conferred right after diaconate; sometimes, however, on the day of sacerdotal ordination. The giving of this dignity is not obligatory. If the bishop does not confer the archdiaconate to the new deacon, he ought to give him at the moment of ordination the book of the Gospels along with the epistles (578).

b) *The priestly orders of periodeute, archpriest, and chor-bishop.*

The exact date of the institution of the chor-episcopate is not known. In the East, it does not appear in the texts before the peace of the Church. But, according to the indications that the more ancient documents give us, "the chor-bishops because of necessity aided the head of the diocese in the administration and surveillance of secondary churches, founded in the midst of groups of people more or less distinct from the episcopal city" (579). These were the bishops of the countryside, the rural communities, subordinated to the bishops of the city.

The importance of the chor-episcopate led to abuses; the chor-bishops went beyond the conciliar prescriptions which regulated their situation. In certain churches, they were suppressed and substituted by simple visitors or periodeutes. In others, without taking this radical measure, as in the churches of Syria, their numbers were reduced and their prerogatives limited. However, periodeutes did figure

in the hierarchy of churches where the chorepiscopate was maintained. And so, in the monenclature of various hierarchical degrees, the periodeute is found alongside the chorbishop (580).

The Maronites from their origin adopted the periodeutes and chor-bishops and introduced archpriests into their hierarchy. In their Church, the archpriest is not a doubling of the chor-bishop. Alongside the chor-bishop having concern over rural communities, the archpriest has the surveillance of the chief place of the eparchy (581).

The pontifical designates these two dignities under the same name of chor-bishop. But decomposition brought about by copyists has given the word, in current language, a denomination applied actually to all secular priests, with the exception of the eparchy of Aleppo. No document furnishes the date of this doubling. It seems to us that it was definitively established towards the end of the reign of Douaihi (d. 1704). Sometimes he spoke of the archpriest, sometimes he passed over him in silence. Then, he finished by fixing the discipline in this regard by assigning in the pontifical a special rite for the giving of the archpresbyterate (582). In tome IIb of his *Bibl. Or.*, printed in Rome in 1728, J.-S. Assemani speaks of the archpresbyterate as an already well-accepted institution; and the Synod of Mount Lebanon seals the work of Douaihi by imposing his pontifical in practice and in outlining the various rites according to which the consecration of chor-bishop, archpriest, and periodeute is to be accomplished. These three consecrations involve the imposition of hands. However, the giving of the chor-episcopate whose rite was borrowed and abridged from the consecration of bishops, has a more solemn form (cf. the pontifical of these ordinations in J. Al. Assemani, *Codex Liturgicus*, t. IX; J.-S. Assemani, *Bibl. Or.*, t. III, pp. 831-32. In this passage Assemani points out the essential differences between the rite of episcopal ordination and that of the consecration of chor-bishop; then he indicates the parts common to both rites, for example, the handing of the insignia of dignity: miter and cross, etc...).

The origin of these hierarchical degrees explains why the chor-bishop, archpriest, and periodeute partake of certain functions which are strictly episcopal, and why the first two degrees enjoy more ample prerogatives than the periodeute. The three dignities are often accorded by a purely honorific title, with the rights and privileges proper to them.

c) *Metropolitans and archbishops* — The Synod of Mount Lebanon, in erecting eparchies, did not establish provincial divisions; it submitted the bishops directly to the Patriarch (583). Therefore, the dignity of archbishop for the Maronites is a purely honorific title and all bishops are invested with it.

d) The *patriarch* — The Patriarch is the supreme head of the Maronite Church. His only superior is the Pope. He carries the title of Patriarch of Antioch and All the East. The Synod of Mount Lebanon determines the limits of his jurisdiction in these terms: "Our former Patriarchs, since the time when the Maronite nation was separated from the other people of the East, have not only borne the title of Patriarch of Antioch, but have also exercised full patriarchal jurisdiction over the metropolitans, bishops, priests, clerics and laity of the Maronite nation, in the district of the patriarchate of Antioch as well as other regions of the East. Today, they still enjoy this title and this patriarchal jurisdiction. This has never been contested by the Sovereign Pontiffs; but, on the contrary, certificates expressly confer on them this title of Patriarch of Antioch and the full and absolute jurisdiction over the whole nation of the Maronites in all the countries of the East. We ordain that all the Maronites of Syria, Phoenicia, Lebanon, Palestine, Cyprus, Egypt, and all the other provinces and localities of the East in holy obedience recognize for their legitimate superior and prelate the Most Reverend Patriarch, obey his orders and commands in spiritual matters, observe exactly the laws made by him, and the rites as performed in the Patriarchal Church regarding the Divine Office, feasts, and fasts. Laity and ecclesiastics are obliged to pay him tithes, to honor and venerate the priests constituted by him and to receive the sacraments from them" (584).

The choice of the Patriarch is by election as in other Eastern Churches. But because of a lack of precise law, the form of election has varied throughout the centuries. We shall indicate quickly those which we have encountered in the various historical documents. The first witness of a Patriarchical election is found in a Syriac note written by hand by Patriarch Jeremias, who tells us that in 1282 he was elected to this dignity by the bishops, chor-bishops, and priests (cf. the note in the book of Gospels preserved at the Laurentiana of Florence, *God. Syr.* I, 56, fol. 17; it is reproduced by Stephen Awad Assemani in the *Bibl. Med. Laurent. Mss. Catalogus*, p. xxviii; cf. P. Dib, *L'Eglise Maronite*, t. I, p. 196).

In a letter addressed to Leo X (March 8, 1514), Patriarch Simon Ibn Hassan (1492-1524) explains the mechanism of electoral operations of his time: At the vacancy of the Patriarchal See, 12 priests gather at the Monastery of Qannoubin and are enclosed in separate cells. Each day they are to write on a piece of paper the name of the one to whom they give their vote. Absolute unanimity is needed for election. When the Patriarch is designated, the prelates, priests, deacons, subdeacons, and faithful assemble to proclaim him and enthrone him (585). When the electors are unable to arrive at absolute accord, they charge three from among them by lot to choose by a plurality of votes the new Patriarch (586).

On other occasions, the election took place by the majority vote of the assembly of bishops, clergy and people (587).

The fourth procedure prepared the way for the legislation of the Synod of Mount Lebanon: the bishops alone would choose the candidate, the clergy giving its adherence and the people their acceptance. This is how Gabriel de Blauza was elected in 1704 and Joseph Dergham el-Khazen in 1733 (588).

Finally, the Synod of Mount Lebanon definitively fixed the modalities of election. Only the metropolitans and bishops form the electoral college. The election is to be by ballot; and a candidate is elected when he has two-thirds of the votes. The voting is to continue until this takes place (III, vi, 8,

cf. 7, # 17). The Synod also allows for election by acclamation; but in this case the candidate is elected only if he had all the votes (*Ibid.*, 7, # 8). The electoral period begins on the ninth day after the death of the Patriarch. Candidates must be 40 years old, at least priests, and have all the other qualities required by the canons (*Ibid.*, 7, # 5, 10).

The Synod of Lebanon gives precise details of the mechanism of election (*Ibid.*, 7).

The new Patriarch once elected is to fix the day of his consecration. This ought to be accomplished in the presence of the electoral body, following the rite in the pontifical. Following this ceremony the elect and the electors must write to the Pope to request the pallium and the confirmation of the new Patriarch. The Patriarch adds to this letter, a profession of Catholic faith (*Ibid.*). Until he receives the pallium and the confirmation of his election, he does not have the fullness of patriarchal jurisdiction (*Ibid.*, n. 7, # 22).

The modalities of Patriarchal election are found detailed and codified in the *Moto Proprio*, "Cleri Sanctitati" of Pius XII (June 11, 1957), Can. 221-39. The ballot is to be secret and the required majority is two-thirds of the votes. The new law, as the old, prescribes that the elect request the pallium and apostolic confirmation from the Sovereign Pontiff.

The rights and privileges of the Patriarch are defined in Ch. VI, n. 2 of the third part of the Synod of Lebanon. Here is the enumeration:

i. The right of precedence over all primates, metropolitans, and bishops.

ii. The right to have the cross carried before him in all places except Rome, or in the presence of the Pope or his legate.

iii. The right to use the Patriarchal insignia, especially purple vestments.

iv. The right to write synodal letters to the other patriarchs.

v. To be appeal judge of controversies already decided in the provinces and dioceses.

vi. To consecrate personally, or by delegate, metropolitans and primates of his Patriarchate and to give them the pallium.

vii. In cases where the necessity or utility of the Church demands it, he is able to transfer bishops and metropolitans from one see to another and to give them co-adjutors: but he is able to do so only with the consent of the bishops.

viii. He is able to accept the resignation of a bishop and give him the faculty to enter religious life; but this ought to be done at a synod of the bishops.

ix. He is able to deal with the major cases and serious affairs of the bishops of his Patriarchate, with the exception of those reserved to the Pope.

x. He is able to receive the complaints of bishops against their metropolitans, and those of clerics and laity against their bishops.

xi. It is his duty to watch over the purity of the Faith and the exactness of discipline, and on this account he or his delegate should visit the various dioceses.

xii. He calls and presides over the synod of metropolitans and bishops.

xiii. He is able to decree obligatory canons for metropolitans and bishops.

xiv. He is able to impose censures on delinquent metropolitans and bishops; but the power to depose them is reserved to the Pope. However, following a synodal decision, the Patriarch can hold a guilty bishop in a monastery while awaiting the definitive decision of the Holy See.

xv. He is to watch over monastic discipline, to approve religious institutes and to exercise jurisdiction over all the monks.

xvi. He is able to give exemption to churches and to monasteries in the eparchies of his Patriarchate.

xvii. His name should be proclaimed in the litugy after that of the Pope.

xviii. He is able to reserve cases that no bishop or metropolitan can absolve, and, inversely, absolve all the cases in his Patriarchate; he can reconcile heretics and schismatics of any sect or people to the Church, dispense from the impediments to marriage, whether diriment or prohibiting, absolve those who have been excommunicated, suspended, or interdicted by his own prelates, and lift irregularities to the reception or exercise of orders.

xix. All subjects of the Patriarch whether ecclesiastics or secular owe him tithes.

xx. Only he is able, even in the presence of the ordinary of the place, to bless, preside, and exercise pontifical functions in the whole Patriarchate.

xxi. Only he is able to institute holydays of obligation for the whole Patriarchate, impose fasts at extraordinary times, or dispense because of public order from the prescribed fasts, without however, being able to abolish them definitively.

xxii. Only he has jurisdiction over the ecclesiastical rites of the Patriarchate, with power to revise or correct the ritual, pontifical, missal, and other liturgical books, to introduce new offices and to suppress old ones; he is able to reserve to himself certain functions which would be forbidden to bishops and metropolitans, such as the consecration of chrism; he is able to grant certain function to others, even simple priests, such as the consecration of churches and altars, Confirmation, the use of the miter and the cross, and the giving of minor orders; he is able to increase or diminish the rite, on condition of protecting its substance, and with the opinion of bishops and competent persons. It is understood that the Patriarch would not do anything of importance in regard to the above powers without the synod of bishops and metropolitans just as the latter should not do anything outside of their ordinary administration without consulting the Patriarch.

In studying these rights and privileges, it is necessary to keep in mind the new code of oriental canon law.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LITURGY

The Maronite rite belongs to the group of Syrian liturgies of the Patriarchate of Antioch. It uses the Syriac language, and Arabic in certain parts.

The relations of the Maronites with the West have exercised a profound influence on the discipline of their Church. But these effects in the liturgy began to be produced in a systematic manner only toward the end of the sixteenth century (589). Pontifical power, the missionaries, and the majority of Maronite students from Rome have been the artisans of Latinization. We shall study the results briefly in the principal liturgical books.

THE MISSAL

In the Syrian rite, as in the other rites, the Eucharistic liturgy is composed of the Mass of the Catechumens and the Anaphora, which corresponds to the Roman Canon.

But, differing from the Latin liturgy, the Syrian rite possesses a considerable number of anaphoras composed on the model of the liturgy of Saint James. The Maronites have also a particular liturgy which begins with the word *charar* and which has many resemblances to the liturgy of the Christians of the Persian Empire, known under the name of the East Syrians.

The totality of anaphoras is not found in a unique missal. Each missal offers a variety from among them. In speaking only of the Maronites, we cite three manuscript

collections which were in use among them and which are preserved at the Vatican under Nos. 29 and 31 of the *Vat. Syr.* Collection and No. 56 of the *Syr. Borgia* Collection. No. 29, executed in 1533, contains 24 anaphoras, No. 31, written in 1564 and 1579, 10 anaphoras, and No. 56, copied as a codex in 1527, includes only seven (590).

Up to the end of the sixteenth century, the missal was in manuscript form and the modification attempts had only limited diffusion. The printing press helped to make them general.

The first edition of the missal was done at Rome in 1592 under the title of *Missale Chaldaicum Juxta Ritum Ecclesiae Nationis Maronitorum.* It came into vigor in 1596 at the synod held in the presence of Father Dandani, who had brought 200 copies of it to Lebanon (591). It contained 14 anaphoras. The important retouchings were regarding the words of consecration and the epiclesis. The words of institution had been expressed in terms other than those in the Latin Mass. These words varied with the different anaphoras. Now, the words of institution are a simple translation of the Roman missal. As for the epiclesis, it was mutilated: the celebrant no longer asks that Holy Spirit be sent on the bread and wine to transform the body and blood of Christ, but to apply the effects of the Eucharistic sacrament to the faithful. However, one still finds traces of the primitive epiclesis in three anaphoras. In the first edition done at Rome, in 1596, the *diaconicon* had not been corrected in this passage. The deacon continues to invite the faithful to meditate on the Holy Spirit who descends on the oblation to *sanctify* it. But, in the following editions, he says that the Holy Spirit descends on the altar to sanctify us.

The second edition of the missal, done also at Rome in 1716, re-established neither the traditional formulas regarding the words of institution nor the epiclesis. It suppressed certain anaphoras of the preceding edition and put others in their place; notably, it added the anaphora of the Roman Church, which contains some prayers of Latin origin, and introduced into practice the liturgy of the pre-sanctified

for Good Friday. The Mass of the Pre-sanctified, formerly celebrated on all the days of Lent except Saturday and Sunday, had fallen into disuse for a long time without leaving any traces in the books that were used in the liturgy. The wish was to re-establish the Mass according to Latin usage only for Good Friday; but another anaphora which had no particular relationship with the ancient liturgy, the anaphora *charar*, was adapted for this ceremony (592). The anaphoras of the edition of 1716 were 14 in number.

There is a third Roman edition in 1762-63. It reduced the number of anaphoras to nine. The later editions executed at Qozhaiya and Beyrouth in 1816, 1838, 1855, 1872, 1888, and 1908 contained no more than nine. They all have the same text for the words of institution as in the Latin Mass, and some preserve vestiges of the ancient epiclesis.

The editions in Lebanon add Gospel pericopes for all days which are not ferial, as well as for Sundays and fixed and mobile feasts. The Maronites had a calendar of saints that was not too extensive, and the missals printed at Rome gave Gospel readings for only certain days of the year. The elaboration of a complete calendar was not immediately followed by assigning Scriptural readings for each day. It was Farhat, Archbishop of Aleppo (1725-32), who accomplished this work (593). The Gospel readings were printed for the first time in the Missal of Qozhaiya. The epistles were in a different volume and had already had more than eight editions. We can add that the Maronites had adopted the vestments and hosts of the Latin Church (594).

THE RITUAL

The ritual has been also profoundly Latinized, but the changes were introduced into practice only slowly.

The ritual was printed much later than the missal. At first, modifications were inserted in new manuscript copies in the form of deletions and additions. A Maronite, Joseph

el-Bani, gives evidence of this in a note written by him in 1665 on a codex preserved in the *Syr.* collection of the Vatican, No. 48, fol. 1; and Assemani attests this in *Bibl. Apost. Vat. Cod. Mss. Catalogus*, t. II, pp. 304-8. Also, some rituals preserved at the Vatican, *Vat. Syr.* 300 and 313, and the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris, *Ms. Syr.* 117 give proof of this.

Other Latinizers took more radical measures. They translated a part of the Latin ritual and imposed it for use. Also, as we have seen, the rituals of Baptism and Extreme Unction were printed in Rome in 1647 with the ferial office abridged.

Therefore liturgical discipline was invaded by a sort of anarchy.

The Patriarch Douaihi wished for reform; he studied the old manuscripts in order to re-establish the rite of his Patriarchate. Finished in 1694, the reformed ritual was promulgated by a patriarchal letter which served as a preface. The Holy See approved the work of Douaihi, and Propaganda proposed to publish it at its expense. Unfortunately, the project did not take place (cf. the documents among the mss. of the Vatican, *Vat. Syr.* 310, 312, and *Vat. Lat.* n. 9552, fol. 37 ff., and n. 7261, fol. 109-114).

Latinizing tendencies soon took their course, especially in the eighteenth century. One was not content with just copying from the Roman ritual; but one took things from the ascetical works of the West and gave them a place in the realm of worship.

In 1752, a new ritual appeared in Rome with the title *Sacerdotale Ecclesias Antiochenae Nationis Maronitarum.* Accentuating the Latinizing movement, among other ceremonies and blessings it borrowed from the Roman ritual were those of Baptism and Extreme Unction, the ceremony for communion of the sick, and the administration of the sacrament of Penance. As a reaction, the synod of 1755 permitted the use of the *Sacerdotale* only for funerals and prescribed that the clergy conform itself to the ritual of Douaihi in regard to the rest (Can. 5). But the synodal decree was not

able to stop the current, which was already too strong. The *Sacerdotale* was already in the hands of all the priests and they followed its prescriptions. The ritual was encumbered with new devotions, many of which had been authorized by Patriarch Joseph Estephan (d. 1793) (595).

Reform was sought and another Joseph Estephan, Archbishop of Cyr (1810-23), was charged with elaborating a plan. Unfortunately, instead of being inspired by the method and work of Douaihi, he merely recorded the results which had already taken place and submitted his work to Patriarch el-Helou. The Patriarch did not have the time to turn his attention to it; he died in 1823. His successor sent the projected ritual to the Holy See in 1825, in order that it might be approved and printed in Rome. Angelo Maï, having examined it and compared it with that of Douaihi, drafted an unfavorable report; the new ritual was not that of the Maronite Church. Propaganda returned the ritual to the Patriarch and added the reservations that the cardinals had formulated at the meeting of January 24, 1833. After new requests by the Patriarch and the episcopate, the ritual of Estephan was finally printed at the printing press of Propaganda in 1839-40, and was divided into two volumes. The first was entitled *Rituale Aliaeque Piae Precationes ad Usum Ecclesiae Maroniticae*, and the second *Ritus Administrandi Nonulla Sacramenta ad Usum Ecclesiae Antiochenae Maronitarum* (596). The second volume remained in use up to 1942. The first volume was re-edited in 1909 and the second in 1897.

THE PONTIFICAL

This book was composed as part of the reform of Douaihi. It has been retouched and modified, but without submitting too much to Latin influence.

It remained conformed to the traditional body of usages of the Patriarchate of Antioch. One Latin importation is the grouping of Confirmation among the episcopal functions.

Following the orders reiterated by Rome, the administration of this sacrament has been reserved to the bishop. It had formely been a part, as it still is among Eastern Churches, of Christian initiation: the priest himself confirmed the newly-baptized. The attribution of this power exclusively to the bishop was effectively established in the course of the eighteenth century, and especially after the Synod of Mount Lebanon in 1736 (597). This change in discipline required that a special rite be assigned to Confirmation and added to the pontifical. The rite of the Latin Church was adopted; however, some of it is copied as it is, and the rest is framed in prayers and hymns which are somewhat long. At present it is part of the ritual which was reformed and edited in 1942.

In ancient times, holy chrism was composed of oil and balsam, mixed with other perfumes, following the discipline of the East (cf. the enumeration of these substances in a letter of the Patriarch to Leo X, in Labbe, *Concil.*, t. XIV, col. 348, 349). To conform to the orders of the Holy See, the Maronites adopted the matter of the Roman practice: chrism was made from oil and balsam alone. They had already adopted this usage for many years when the Synod of Lebanon was assembled in 1736 (598).

THE DIVINE OFFICE

The private recitation of the office is not the traditional rule in the discipline of the East; the principle is that the office ought to be celebrated in choir. However, the obligation of the breviary in the Western sense was introduced in the Catholic rites little by little.

The application to the Maronites must be of quite early date, for, in the old pontificals, the exhortation of the bishop reminds the new deacon of the duty to be assiduous in the office at morning, evening, and midnight, and to recite the other prayers privately. This refers to the fact that formerly, clerics and the faithful chanted the offices of lauds, vespers,

and matins in church (599). According to Dandini who was in Lebanon in 1596, the Maronites had also at this time the custom of chanting the other parts of the office. The accomplishment of this duty was so anchored in their customs that they were greatly surprised not to see the apostolic legate follow them to church at all the hours of prayer (600). This was still the general rule when in 1675 Richard Simon published the French translation of *Voyage du Mont Liban* by Father Dandini (601).

However, before this date, the private recitation of the office had begun to enter into practice. There already existed an abridged edition of the ferial office or breviary done at Rome, and in 1633 the Patriarch asked for 200 copies (602). Be that as it may, the Synod of Lebanon of 1736, in imposing on major clerics the obligation of the breviary, left them the liberty of choosing between the choral office or the private office (603). Today priests recite the office privately as in the West, using the ferial breviary.

The Syrians recite the office in two ways. The East Syrians have introduced a certain variety in the disposition of the parts; besides the daily psalms, there are psalms assigned for each day. The West Syrians have only a few psalms; instead they have a number of homilies, hymns, canticles, and prayers. The most celebrated composer of hymns of antiquity, whose writings have enriched the office, is Saint Ephrem. The Maronites follow the latter system.

The canonical prayers are seven in number:

1. Prayer of evening (vespers)
2. Apodeipnon (compline)
3. Office of the night
4. Office of dawn
5. Terce
6. Sext
7. None.

When the office is celebrated in church, it is chanted in two choirs and a reading from the *synaxarion* and scriptural lessons taken from the Old and New Testaments are added.

Latinization particularly affected the ritual. This was a regrettable thing. But, in order to judge those who brought it about, it is necessary to remember the milieu in which the work was accomplished. They wished to show in the circumstances that were imposed upon them that they were without doubt attached to the Holy See. Furthermore, the mentality of the West was that the Latin rite had a special pre-eminence over the Eastern rites (cf. the constitution *Etsi Pastoralis* of Benedict XIV, May 26, 1752, # 2, n. 13). In spite of these modifications the Maronite rite, on the whole, still preserves the substance and the essential characteristics of the liturgy of Antioch.

In 1935, by the order of the Patriarch and the bishops, Chor-bishop Michael Rajji undertook a study of reform, conceived in a spirit of return to the ancient rites and usages. This study which was completed in 1938 was submitted to the Sacred Oriental Congregation and was approved on November 9, 1938 by Pius XI. The new ritual, published in Beyrouth in 1942, was put into practice as soon as possible (604).

CHAPTER THREE

RELIGIOUS LIFE

INSTITUTES OF MEN

1. *Institutes of solemn vows.* Following the conquest of Syria by the Arabs, the Maronite monks, the butt of trials from the invaders and their religious enemies, flowed into Lebanon to seek refuge. Transplanted into a land particularly favorable to recollection and meditation, monastic life flourished with a new vigor. It established its center in the midst of the austere gorges of the Holy Valley — Qadicha, which opens up from the foot of the Cedars ending in Tripoli on the Mediterranean. Soon, monasteries multiplied on the hills; hermits populated the flanks of the mountains, perched on overhanging rocks or nestled in caves (605).

The reputation of these monks went beyond the frontiers of Syria and attracted even from France remakable men such as the gentleman of Provence, Francois de Chasteuil (d. 1644), who were desirous of living according to their rule and under their direction (606).

The monks were divided into two categories: the solitaries and the cenobites. The asceticism of the hermits was harsh and unrelenting. They challenged each other with a sort of holy rivalry as to who would master his body the most. "We shall sketch one of these lives. In the year 1542, the pious hermit Younan el-Matriti died in a holy manner, fortified with the blessing of the Patriarch Moussa and of Koriakos, Bishop of Ehden. He had lived in the hermitage of Saint Michael for 50 years. With perfect purity of heart, he celebrated Mass each morning; four years before his death, he ate only once every two days, and during Lent,

on Saturday and Sunday only. His fasts extended from Pentecost to Christmas, from Epiphany to Easter. He drank only on Saturday and made prostrations until he was covered with sweat; during Holy Week he did 24,000 and was surpassed in this only by his more vigorous student Hanna el-Lahfedi who had gone up to 26,000..." (Douaihi, *Annal.* an. 1542, 1544, and the manuscripts of Qoshaiya) (607).

Up to the beginning of the seventeenth century, monasticism had a preference for the region of the Holy Valley. From this time on, thanks to the prestige of the Maronite nobility, especially the family of el-Khazen, it began to enlarge its territory, especially in the district of Kesrawan, which became more and more the Christian center of the Mountain. (Under the name Kesrawan was included a territory wider than it is today).

"One night, in 1654 three Jesuits fell overboard from shipwreck and were taken for corsairs. They were led to the famous Abou-Naufel (el-Khazen), who soon established them in Antoura. They were delighted to find it an oasis of Catholicism. In this region... the simplicity of the first centuries flourished. The nature of the inhabitants is good, and their temperament is very gentle. They rebuff no one, and give them at least good words. Blasphemy is rare; robbery is not spoken of; if they are ill or tested, they say it is the will of God. They stress fast and abstinence; the women are withdrawn. A sermon is able to last for 10 hours, and the longer it is the more attention it is given. The old find happiness in reciting the catechism in public; they show themselves fond of rosaries, medals, and images" (608). Another witness qualifies Kesrawan as a land of refuge for Catholics: "One sees many monasteries of men and women religious" (609).

Up to the end of the seventeenth century, each monastery was complete and autonomous. They did not have written constitutions, but a discipline founded on a sort of customary law. The monks did not pronounce vows explicity, as they do today: they observed the old rule of tacit profession which consisted in wearing the habit, of entry into religion according to a determined rite or the usage in vigor (610).

Patriarch Douaihi, it is recalled, had tried to introduce in the monasteries the system of religious orders of the West. When he was in Rome, he had seen the advantages and the power which resulted from the union of monasteries under the government of a unique head. Three Maronites from Aleppo helped him realize his desire: Gabriel Hawa (later Archbishop of Cyprus), Abdallah Qarali (later Archbishop of Beyrouth), and Joseph el-Beth. Under Douaihi's patronage, they undertook the work of reform. They submitted to him their project and received from his hands the monastic habit on November 10, 1695, but only *ad experimentum* without yet binding themselves by vows of religion. However, sometime later in the same year they pronounced the vow of poverty. In elaborating the constitutions they did not neglect to try them out themselves. In 1698, when they had completed drawing up the statutes, their institute already counted many new recruits. They called themselves at first the *Aleppin* monks, from the name of the town of their founders. Then in 1706 they called themselves the *Lebanese* monks of Saint Anthony, in memory of the country in which the Order was founded.

Before being definitively erected, this monastic family underwent the trial of grave dissension among the founders themselves. Gabriel Hawa separated himself from his brothers to establish another community; he failed in his attempt and went to Rome. His departure re-established peace. Qaraali, elected to the post of superior-general, had the task of getting the constitutions approved. He submitted them to Patriarch Douaihi. After a mature examination, he conferred canonical recognition of June 18, 1700. The original document of approbation can be seen at the Monastery of Our Lady of Loaisah. Only the monks of the new reform pronounced simultaneously the three vows of poverty, chastity and obedience (611).

Later three new chapters were added to the constitutions, and the monks bound themselves to a fourth vow, that of humility. Patriarch James 'Aouad approved the new statutes with these additions on November 23, 1725. We have seen

the original of his decree at the archives of the Maronite hospice in Rome (612).

In the meantime, the institute experienced painful vicissitudes; its enemies denounced it even to Rome as illegal, and the Congregation of Propaganda condemned it (613). Hence, to give it more security, the general chapter believed it necessary to erect the institute by pontifical law. The constitutions, revised and considerably augmented, were submitted to the Pope who approved them by the brief *Apostolatus Officium* of March 31, 1732 (614). The Synod of Lebanon imposed the observance of this rule on religious communities (IV, ii, 21).

In 1737 and 1740, the abbot general and his four assistants met in council, explained officially certain articles of the constitutions, and submitted their deliberations to the Sovereign Pontiff. Benedict XIV ratified them by the letter *Semper Probavimus* of October 5, 1742 (615).

Archbishop Gabriel of Blauza (later Patriarch) founded another community, that of Saint Isaiah, on the model of the Congregation of Mount Lebanon. The monks of this new institute rivaled their older brothers in piety and abnegation. Their rule was approved in 1703 by Douaihi, then by his successors Gabriel Blauza, James 'Aouad, and Joseph Dergham el-Khazen (616). On January 17, 1740, the institute received the confirmation of the Holy See (617). However, this rule hardly differed from that of the Congregation of Mount Lebanon.

Regarding autonomous monasteries, the Maronite Church had from then on two orders of multiple houses, united under two superiors-general (618).

The Congregation of Mount Lebanon found in its rapid diffusion and the hasty prosperity of its monasteries, a cause of disruption. Having become very numerous before possessing a sufficiently long tradition, the monks divided into two camps: one siding with those of Aleppo, and the other with those of Lebanon. The conflict became such that a complete division took place between the Aleppins

and the Lebanese following the elections of new superiors for each of the two branches. Benedict XIV and Clement XIII disapproved of this division. But neither pontifical insistence nor the efforts of the Patriarch were able to put an end to these agitations (619).

The sad events which troubled the Maronite Church during this time contributed, without any doubt, to the continuation of this familial animosity. Briefly, the re-establishment of the original state would have been impossible; it was necessary *pro bono pacis* that authority sanction what had happened. The brief *Ex Injuncto Nobis* of July 19, 1770 approved the division between the Aleppins and the Lebanese of the goods and the monasteries of the congregation (620).

From then on there were three religious orders among the Maronites, each perfectly distinct and legitimately established; the Order of Lebanese Monks or Baladites, the Order of Aleppins, and that of Saint Isaiah, called Antonine. These three congregations spread very quickly, either by founding new houses or by incorporating monasteries of the old observance.

The autonomous monasteries became fewer and fewer and with time died out.

Differing from ancient monasticism the three orders: Baladite, Aleppin, and Antonine, each formed a hierarchical society with provinces and houses, under the direction of a unique head. The chapter was to meet every three years for the election of an abbot general and his four assistants. Then the latter were to meet to designate the provincials and local superiors. The goal of this new form of monasticism was personal asceticism, and the monasteries were organized with contemplation as their special purpose. However the constitutions did not exclude absolutely the active life; they prescribed it in certain circumstances. "None of us is to undertake the care of souls nor to be involved in those areas under the jurisdiction of pastors or bishops. If however the abbot of the monastery is asked by the bishop or the Most Reverend Patriarch to teach the people in a neighboring or

far place, or to hear confessions, or administer other sacraments, he shall take care to have the faculty in writing" (Par II, c. v. n. 3). On its part, the Synod of Mount Lebanon ruled on the forms of the participation of monks in pastoral functions in the following way: No monastery should be charged with the care of souls, but the bishop, in cases of need and with a lack of secular priests, is able to put a monk priest in charge of a parish, either temporarily or for life, to utilize the monks for diocesan missions, to charge them with the schools, whether perpetually or temporarily... But, the monks should continue to keep their monasteries open for the instruction of youth... (IV, ii, 7, and vi, 5).

Conforming to these prescriptions and counsels, the monks, without losing sight of their personal sanctification, which is their principal reason for being, carry out works of the apostolate: they hear confessions, preach, direct parishes, give religious instruction, and teach both primary and secondary schools. Hence, intellectual culture along with religious education is promoted more and more in the monasteries.

After the publication of the *Moto Proprio* of Pius XII, *Postquam Apostolicis Litteris* of February 9, 1952, which codified legislation for religious of the oriental rites, the three Maronite orders were declared non-monastic by the Sacred Oriental Congregation on December 16, 1955 (621). It was necessary to revise the constitutions, to retouch them, to adapt them to circumstances, and to put them in accord with the *Moto Proprio*. The Baladites have already completed their work and obtained the approbation of Rome. On August 6, 1960 their new constitutions were approved for seven years on a trial basis by the Sacred Oriental Congregation in the name of the Sovereign Pontiff. They were published in an Arabic translation in Beyrouth in that same year.

The Lebanese Order, the Baladites, has 55 monasteries and houses, 302 priests, 59 coadjutor brothers, 111 students, 35 novices and 115 postulants. They have a magnificent school at Kaslik, 12 miles from Beyrouth. It offers secondary studies leading to the two baccalaureates, French

and Lebanese; it also teaches philosophy and theology according to the method of the Catholic faculties in the West.

In Lebanon, the Baladites serve 105 parishes, run 13 colleges and schools, own two hospitals, a home for their aged and infirm, and a printing press which publishes two journals. They exercise a sacerdotal ministry in hospitals, in convents of nuns, and in works regarding youth and piety. The student monks explain the catechism to children of many localities.

In foreign countries, they have Maronite parishes in Sao Paulo (Brazil), Mexico, Dakar (Senegal), Abidjan (Ivory Coast), Jaffa (Israel), Bamako (Mali) and in Argentina and Cyprus. They have a college at Dakar and a school at Abidjan (622).

The Aleppine Order has 65 priests, 22 brothers who are in their studies, 60 novices and postulants, 14 monasteries and houses. They serve 20 parishes in Lebanon, five in the Maronite eparchy of Cairo, and three outside the territory of the Patriarchate: Montevideo, Accra (Ghana), and a third in Argentina. They have a school near the motherhouse of Loaisah and another in Heliopolis (Egypt). They teach catechism in the schools and in some villages. The brothers study at the motherhouse, Rome, and the University of Saint Joseph in Beyrouth.

The Antonine Order has 50 priests, 5 coadjutor brothers, 32 brothers who are studying in Lebanon or Rome, 70 novices and postulants, and 20 monasteries and houses. They serve 25 parishes, own a large school, and six primary schools which are tuition-free. They do pastoral work in many schools and among the youth, besides other works of piety.

The three orders organize and preach priests' and parochial retreats.

Without speaking of the novices, the monks are divided at present into three categories: lay brothers, priests, and hermits. The last group has become rare. However a few years ago, there were still some who continued the traditions

of the hermits. According to the old constitutions, after five years of profession and with the permission of the abbot, the hermit is permitted to retire temporarily or perpetually into a cell separated from the community to devote himself to prayer and spiritual exercises. This cell is his cloister. The solitary should cultivate the field which adjoins his hermitage or do other useful manual works (*Constitut.*, II, xiii, 1; cf. the Synod of Lebanon, IV, ii, 21, # 20; P. Goudard (623) gives an edifying and very picturesque description of the life of two contemporary hermits which we have visited ourselves at Maiphouq).

The good which resulted for the Maronites from monastic reform was not confined to the monasteries and eparchies of the Patriarchate. It spread to other Churches of the Eastern rites. The Armenian religious congregation established at Koraim, Lebanon, in 1718 adopted the constitutions of the Maronite monks, two of its founders having studied and practiced the religious life under the direction of the Maronites(624). The same is true of the Melkite Basilians(625). The Chaldean monks of Saint Hormisdas borrowed their rule from the Maronite orders. Their founder, Gabriel Dembou, came to Lebanon in the first years of the nineteenth century to be initiated into the monastic life under the direction of the monks of the country (266), and when the Holy See approved the Chaldean Order in 1845, it gave them the constitutions of the Maronites, adapted to Chaldean needs (627).

2. *Institutes of simple vows.* Patriarch Hobaich, as we have seen above, founded a society of missionaries. It did not last long, but its memory remained along with the feeling of its usefulness.

In 1865, Father John Habib (later Archbishop of Nazareth) took the work of Hobaich and created the Congregation for the Lebanese Maronite Missions at the Monastery of Koraim which had been bought from the Armenians. The statutes of this congregation, analogous in many points to those of the Redemptorists, were confirmed by Patriarch Mas'ad. The society progressed rapidly and when its founder

died in 1894, it was already flourishing. Its primary goal was preaching, especially retreats. However, the fathers of Koraim did not neglect the other aspects of the ministry of souls. At Jounieh, an important center of Kesrawan, they have a very prosperous college, a printing press and a journal, and their monastery has a large chapel open to the public. They exercise pastoral and sacerdotal functions there. Also, at Harissa, above Jounieh, they serve the Church of Our Lady of Lebanon, where they carry out an active and fruitfully spiritual ministry.

In Buenos Aires, Argentina, where there is a considerable Maronite colony, they have a parish, staff a college, direct a printing press, and publish a journal in Arabic and Spanish.

In Brazil and Transvaal, they have founded two centers of pastoral activity: a parish and a school in Rio de Janeiro and a parish in Johannesburg.

The Congregation of the Lebanese Maronite Mission numbers 30 priests, three coadjutor brothers, 19 brother students, and seven novices.

The reputation of their work led Monsignor Germanos Mo'aqqad, titular Melkite metropolitan of Laodicea, to found on their model the Society of Missionaries of Saint Paul. Before executing his project in 1903, he came to study the organization of the Koraim.

INSTITUTES OF WOMEN

In imitation of the monks, the nuns formerly practiced the solitary or cenobitic life. According to Stephan 'Aouad Assemani, after a certain time in religious life, those who requested it would be given a cell situated near the monastery where they would remain cloistered until death (628). (Assemani refers to a note written by Patriarch Jeremias, recording the death of a nun who had become hermit on November 6, 1199. This note is in a book of

Gospels preserved at the Laurentiana of Florence; it is reproduced by Stephen A. Assemani, *ibid.*, p. xxxiii, Syriac text, and p. 26, Latin translation).

Father Eugene Roger, who visited Lebanon in the first half of the seventeenth century, encountered among the old religious a nun who had previously led a solitary life (629). Some were still to be found at the beginning of the eighteenth century (630). But soon this practice disappeared; and when Stephen 'Aouad Assemani edited the catalogue of the Laurentiana, published in 1742, religious women who practiced the solitary life no longer existed (631).

At the present time, all the religious women live a communal life. They are divided into three groups:

1. *The nuns of the old observance.* Some are associated to an order of monks; others depend on the Patriarch or the ordinary of the place.

Formerly, no convent possessed written constitutions; the religious lived according to the ensemble of traditions and customs which were more often secular. When constitutions for the monks were approved, they were adapted to some of the monasteries of nuns (632). For others, J.-S. Assemani, following the Synod of Mount Lebanon, proposed the imposing of the rule written by Abdallah Qaraali (d. 1742) for the religious women of Saint John the Baptist of Harache (633). The Council of Loaisah, in 1818, agreed with this opinion, and Rome approved the decision: "The rule handed down by Bishop Abdallah Qaraali of Hierapolis is to be used by religious women with the exception of rising in the middle of the night for prayer, from which they are dispensed" (Decree of the Propaganda, March 15, 1819) (634).

The nuns of the old observance are cloistered; every day they chant the major office and lead a very austere life. They occupy eight convents, of which five are affiliated to the congregation of Baladite or Lebanese monks; the others are dependent on the Patriarch or the diocesan bishop. All these convents are autonomous, without any canonical tie joining one to the other. They number 150 religious women (Synod of Lebanon, II, xiv, 1-2).

2. *The Maronite Visitandines.* They have two convents in Lebanon. One was founded at Antoura (Kesrawan) in 1744-46) by leaders of the el-Khazen family under the inspiration and the direction of the Jesuits, and with the approbation of Patriarch Simon 'Aouad. Edified by the piety of these religious, other members of the same family wished to build an analogous convent. It was in their house at Zouq-Mikhail, not far from Antoura, and was endowed with their goods. The new community was born in 1836 under the guidance of the Jesuits and the direction of two nuns who had come from Antoura. Although they follow the rule of the Visitation exactly, the religious of these two convents belong to the Maronite Church and are under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch. The two convents have 35 religious.

The house of Antoura has turned a part of its building into an institution for young girls (635).

3. *The Maronite Congregation of the Holy Family.* This is the first congregation for women of the Eastern rites active in Lebanon and Syria. The honor for this goes to Monsignor Elias Hoyek, Patriarch of Antioch and All the East.

The purpose of this congregation is:

1. To achieve the personal perfection of its members.
2. To educate young girls especially of the poorer classes according to the customs and principles of the Christian religion.

Consequently, the sisters have opened boarding and day schools, especially in the villages, where along with Christian education, they provide instruction according to the needs and the exigencies of the country. They also run asylums and orphanages. On Sundays they teach catechism to the poor of the locality and the surrounding villages, and direct congregations of young girls and women under a spiritual director or parish priest. In answer to the call of Christian charity, the Sisters of the Holy Family, when the means permit, establish and run hospitals in the more important center

and dispensaries where medicines are distributed gratuitously to the poor without distinction of rite or nationality (636).

This congregation therefore has for its principal object the religious formation, both moral and intellectual, of young girls according to the customs of the country and the social rank of their families. This order grew quickly and has not ceased to prosper. Founded in 1895 in Ebrin, near Batroun, the congregation numbered 20 religious and ran six schools in 1904 (637). In 1924, it possessed 70 professed sisters, nine novices and one postulant, and was in charge of 15 schools and one orphanage. At present (1962), it numbers 286 professed religious, 14 novices, and seven postulants. It is in charge of seven colleges of which two are in Syria, 40 primary schools, two orphanages, six hospitals, of which three are in Syria, and six dispensaries.

Its constitutions, drawn up on the model of those of institutes in the West, were printed in Beyrouth, at first in Arabic in 1910, and then in French with some modifications in 1924. By virtue of patriarchal approbation dating from March 18, 1924, this last edition replaces the first and is the law for the whole congregation.

4. *Congregation of Antonine Religious.* The nuns of the two Maronite convents founded in Lebanon at the beginning of the eighteenth century and affiliated with the Order of Saint Isaiah wished to change from the contemplative life to the active life. They asked the Holy See to authorize them to realize their desire. With pontifical authorization in 1940, they undertook the work of teaching. Their success has strengthened them in their new vocation. In 1953, they all opted for a definitive apostolate outside the cloister and for profession of simple vows. They formed a congregation under the name of Saint Isaiah. But they continue to bear the name of Antonine Religious.

By a decree dated on the feast of Saint Anthony the Great, January 17, 1958, the Sacred Oriental Congregation approved their constitutions in the name of the Sovereign Pontiff for

seven years, as a trial period. These constitutions were published in Arabic translation at Beyrouth in 1959.

Erected as a pontifical institute, the Antonine congregation has enlarged its field of action. To the work of teaching, it has added service to the sick and infirm. At present (1962), it numbers 155 professed and runs 19 colleges and schools, an orphanage, an asylum, a home for young girls, and three dispensaries.

5. *Congregation of Saint Theresa of the Infant Jesus.* Founded in 1935 by Chor-bishop Anthony Akl, this congregation at present numbers 72 religious and runs two hospitals, an asylum and 10 schools. It is a patriarchal institute.

FOOTNOTES

(1) THEODORET, Bishop of Cyr (d. ca. 458), *Religiosa historia*, XVI and XXI; MIGNE, *P.G.*, t. LXXXII, col. 1418 and 1431.

(2) *Op. cit.*, XVI and XXI, *ibid.*, col. 1418 and 1431.

(3) *Op. cit.*, XXI, XXII, XXX, *ibid.*, col. 1431-1455 and 1491-1494.

(4) *Ibid.*, XVI, col. 1418-1419.

(5) THEODORET, *ibid.*, col. 1418.

(6) THEODORET, *ibid.*, col. 1419.

(7) *Ibid.*, XVI, col. 1419.

(8) See a Syriac document translated and published by F. NAU, *Opuscules maronites*, part II, Paris, 1900, p. 20-25; H. LAMMENS, s.J., *Le Liban*, Beyrouth, 1914, t. I, p. 118 and t. II, p. 84.

(9) *Ibid.*, XVI, col. 1419.

(10) *Book of Warning and Revision (Kitab at-tanbih wal-ischraf)*, edit. by M.J. de Goeje, Leyde, 1894, p. 153 in *Bibliotheca Geographorum arabicorum*, t. VIII.

(11) MANSI, *Consil.*, t. VIII, col. 425-429.

(12) *Ibid.*, col. 429 and esp. col. 1023-1030.

(13) *Ibid.*, col. 1130-1138.

(14) MANSI, *ibid.*, col. 911 and 912.

(15) Cf. *ibid.*, col. 881 929, 940, 953.

(16) *Ibid.*, col. 995, 1022.

(17) See PARGOIRE, *Archimandrite* in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, t. I, col. 2741 and 2746; H. LAMMENS, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 91.

(18) *Add.* 12 155, fol. 163, letters translated in French by F. NAU in *Bulletin de l'Association de Saint-Louis des maronites*, Paris, 1903, p. 343 ff. and 367 ff. Cf. also the report of a debate between the Maronite Monks and the Jacobite Patriarch and Bishops, held in Damascus in 658-659, in the presence of Moawiah. (Syriac Ms. of London. Add. 17 216, fol. 12.) The Syriac text has been published with a French translation by F. NAU, *Opuscules maronites*, I part., p. 36; II part., p. 6, Paris, 1899-1900.

(19) S. VAILHÉ, *L'Eglise maronite, du V^e^ au IX^e^ siècle*, in the *Echos d'Orient*, 1906, t. IX, p. 261.

(20) Cited by P. LAMMENS, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 90.

(21) *De aedific*, l. V, c. IX.

(22) *Collection of documents and proofs* (in Arabic), Cairo, 1908, p. 200 and 205.

(23) In *Chronicle of Michael the Syrian* t. II, ed. Chabot, Paris, 1901, p. 511.

(24) *Op. cit.*, p. 153-154.

(25) *Ibid.*, p. 343-344.

(26) S. VAILHÉ, *L'Eglise maronite, du V^e au IX^e siècle* in the *Echos d'Orient*, 1906, t. IX, p. 260.

(27) *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, t. I, ed. Abbelos-Lamy, Louvain, 1872, col. 269-274.

(28) Transl. and ed., Chabot, Paris, 1899-1910, t. II, p. 357-529 and t. III, p. 1-111.

(29) See also Th. NOLDEKE, *Bruchstücke einer syrischen Chronik uber die Zeit des Mo'awia*, in *Zeitsch. der deutsch. morgenl. Gesell.*, 1875, t. XXIX, p. 82-98 (Syriac text and German translation). See also BROOKS and CHABOT (text and Latin translation), *Chronica minora*, II part., in *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium, scriptores syri, series tertia*, t. IV, Paris, 1903, p. 35-57 (translation) and p. 43-74 (Syriac text) on the author of this chronicle, see *al-Machriq* (Arabic review published in Beyrouth), 1899, t. II, P. LAMMENS, p. 265-268; BECHARA CHEMALY, p. 356-358; P.S. RONZEVALLE, p. 451-460.

(30) See the theological works, among the Arabic mss. of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris 169, fol. 86 v°-87 r°.

(31) *Chronicon syriacum*, Paris, 1890, p. 126-127. See also his History of the Dynasties, edit. Salhani, Beyrouth, 1890, p. 220.

(32) Cl. J. DAVID, *op. cit.*, p. 94 sq.; J.B. CHABOT, *Chronicle of Michael the Syrian*, t. II, Paris 1901, p. 493, n. 2.

(33) Eastern and Western Liturgies (in Arabic), Charfet (Lebanon) 1924, p. 407.

(34) *Loc. cit.*, p. 260.

(35) *Dissertatio de origine, nomine, ac religione maronitarum*, Rome, 1679, p. 95-96.

(36) *Défense de la nation maronite, ms. Vat. syr.* 396, fol. 25-27.

(37) *S. Maximi confessoris disputatio cum Pyrrho*, P.G., t. XCI, col. 289, 332; cf. S. Vailhe, *Sophrone le sophiste et Sophrone le patriarche*, in *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 1903, t. VIII, p. 37 ff.

(38) Cf. DUCHENSNE, *L'Eglise au VI^e siècle*, Paris, 1925, p. 370-373; P. DIB, *L'Eglise maronite*, t. I, p. 113-114.

(39) See Tell-Mahré in *Michael the Syrian* text, t. IV, p. 459-460; transl., t. II, p. 494; cf. also Germain of Constantinople (715-730), *De haeresibus et synodis* in *P.G.*, t. XCVIII, col. 81.

(40) In the *Chronicle of Michael the Syrian* text, t. IV, p. 457-458; transl., t. II, p. 492-493.

(41) Cf. J.B. CHABOT, *Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahré*, Paris, 1895, p. IX-XXVIII ; RUBENS DUVAL, *La littérature syriaque*, Paris, 1907, p. 388-389.

(42) Cf. DARIAN, *op. cit.*, p. 133-143.

(43) Text, t. IV, p. 458-459; transl., t. II, p. 493-494.

(44) *Op. cit.*, fol. 88 v°; cf. also fol. 96 v°, 97 r° and 98.

(45) See THOMAS DE KAPHARTAB, *op. cit.*, fol. 86 v°, 100 r°.

(46) WILLIAM OF TYR, *Historia*, l. XXII, c. VIII, P.L., t. CCI, col. 855-856; LAMMENS, *La Syrie*, t. I, Beyrouth, 1921, p. 212.

(47) *De synodis*, 91, P.L., t. X, col. 545. Cf. *Diction. de Théol. cath., Hilaire*, col. 2390 and 2423; G. BARDY, *Histoire de l'Eglise* (Fliche-Martin), t. III, Paris, 1945, p. 141.

(48) Cf. art. JEAN DAMASCENE, in *Dict. de Théol. cath.*, t. VIII, col. 698 and 705.

(49) Cf. *P.G.*, t. XCV, col. 34, m. 4; J.S. ASSEMANI, *Biblioth. juris orientalis canonici et civilis*, t. V, Rome, 1766, p. 506-507.

(50) *Ibid.*, p. 507.

(51) *Ibid.*, p. 502-505.

(52) *P.G.*, t. CVIII, col. 840; cf. also *In dialogum contra Manichaeos admonitio, ibid.*, t. XCIV, col. 1505 ff. art. Jean DAMASCENE, *ibid.*, col. 700.

(53) *Loc. cit.*, l. V, p. 510. Cf. L. PETIT, in *Dict. de Théol. cath., Abjuration*, col. 77.

(54) *Biblioth.*, cod. 228, in MIGNE, *P.G.*, t. CIII, col. 958.

(55) Edit. CHEIKHO, t. I, Beyrouth, 1905, p. 210, in *Corp. script. chris. orient. script. arab. textus.* Series III, t. VI.

(56) *Op. cit.*, in *Echos d'Orient*, 1906, t. IX, p. 266.

(57) Cf. KARALEVSKIJ, in *Diction. d'hist. et de géog. ecclés., Antioche*, col. 595.

(58) *Op. cit.*, p. 154.

(59) *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, I. XXII, c. VIII, in MIGNE, *P.L.*, t. CCI, col. 855-856.

(60) *Ibid.*, col. 212.

(61) *Ibid.*, col. 212.

(62) *Ibid.*, col. 639.

(63) *Ibid.*, col. 212.

(64) L. VII, c. XXI, col. 398-399.

(65) *Les colonies franques de Syrie*, Paris, 1883, p. 76.

(66) See LAMMENS, *Le Liban*, t. I, p. 83, 121, 123; t. II, p. 53-55.

(67) Cf. LAMMENS, *La Syrie*, t. I, p. 212; R. RISTELHUEBER, *Les traditions françaises au Liban*, Paris, 1925, p. 49.

(68) E. Rey, *op. cit.*, p. 33, n. 3, and p. 356 ff.; R. Ristelhueber, *op. cit.*, p. 53; G. Dodu, *Histoire des institutions monarchiques dans le royaume latin de Jérusalem* (1099-1291), Paris, 1894, p. 211.

(69) William of Tyre, l. XVIII, c. xxix, col. 741-742. Cf. Hefele-Leclerca, *Histoire des conciles*, t. V, Paris, 1913, col. 741-742.

(70) Douaihi, ms. 396, fol. 98 v°, 92 v°-93 r°.

(71) Cf. Darian, *op. cit.*, p. 309 ff.

(72) *Cod. syr.* 1, fol. 6 v°. This note has been published by Steven Awad Assemani, *Biblioth. Med. Catal.*, p. xxviii, Syriac text and p. 17, Latin translation.

(73) See a second Book of Gospels of the Laurentiana of Florence, *cod. syr.* 2, fol. 1, in S.A. Assemani, *ibid.*, p. xxxiii, Syriac text and p. 26, Latin translation.

(74) *Historia Hierosolim.*, c. lxxvii, in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos. Orientalis historiae*, t. I, Hanover, 1611, p. 1093-1094.

(75) T. Anaissi, *Bullarium Maronitarum*, Rome, 1911, p. 2-3.

(76) Cf. S. Vailhé, *Origines religieuses des maronites*, in *Echos d'Orient*, 1901, t. IV, p. 161.

(77) Douaihi, *Annales*, an. 1230, fol. 39 r°; ms. 395, fol. 97 r°-101 r°.

(78) Cf. Anaissi, *Bull.*, p. 9-12; Dandini, *Miss. apost.*, p. 98-99.

(79) See Duchesne, *op. cit.*, p. 372-373; Karalevskij, in *Diction. d'hist. et de géogr. ecclés., Antioche*, col. 589-597; S. Vailhé, *L'Eglise maronite du V^e^ au IX^e^ siècle*, in *Echos d'Orient*, 1906, t. IX, p. 263-265.

(80) In Michael the Syrian, *op. cit.*, text, t. IV, p. 467; transl., t. II, p. 511.

(81) Cf. P. Chebli, *Biographie de Douaihi*, p. 210.

(82) See for example, two documents of which one is from 1141, in J.S. Assemani, *Bibl. or.*, t. I, p. 307, and the other is from 1154, in S.A. Assemani, *op. cit.*, p. xxviii-xxix and 18.

(83) T. Anaissi, *Bull.*, p. 4.

(84) Anaissi, *loc. cit.*, p. 294.

(85) Anaissi, p. 9-13.

(86) *Ibid.*, p. 24.

(87) O. Chebli, *Le patriarcat maronite d'Antioche*, in *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 1903, t. VIII, p. 138-139.

(88) *Ibid.*, p. 140-142. See also another letter of Leo X of May 27, 1514, in Anaissi, *Bull.*, p. 29-30.

(89) Cited by Cl. J. David, *loc. cit.*, p. 378.

(90) Cf. his *opuscules théologiques*, ms. arabe 169, fol. 86 v°-87 r° of the Bibl. nat. of Paris.

(91) Douaihi, *Chronologie*, p. 23; S.-A. Assemani, *op. cit.*, p. 18; P. Chebli, *Biographie de Douaihi*, p. 40.

(92) MAWARDI (or Maverdi, Moslem jurist d. 1058), *Constitutiones politicae*, edit. Max. Enger, Bonn, 1853, p. 252; *Recueil des hist. des croisades*, Lois, t. I, Paris, 1841, Introd., p. 17, and text, p. 26, 577; t. II, Paris, 1843, Introd., p. 10-11, 24; KARALEVSKIJ, *loc. cit.*, col. 594, 612, 615, 636.

(93) R. RISTELHUEBER, *op. cit.*, p. 39-40.

(94) See Mgr Abdalla KHOURY, Archhishop of Arka, *Le patriarche maronite et Djemal pacha pendant la guerre*, in the Arabic Review *al-Machriq*, 1924, t. XXII, p. 162-164.

(95) See DEBS, *History of Syria*, t. VIII, p. 748, 759; DARIAN, *The Maronites of Lebanon*, p. 254-268.

(96) *Chronicon syriacum*, p. 126-127; *Histoire des Dynasties*, p. 220.

(97) *Op. cit.*, p. 154.

(98) MAS'OUDI, *Livre de l'avertissement et de la révision*, p. 153; cf. LAMMENS, *Le Liban*, t. II, p. 50.

(99) *Annales*, *loc. cit.*, p. 492-496, and 511.

(100) *Ibid.*, p. 210.

(101) *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, p. 269-274; *Histoire des Dynasties*, p. 219-220.

(102) LAMMENS, p. 50.

(103) *Chronicle of Michael the Syrian*, t. II, p. 431-432, 477, 480-483, 489, 490-491, 511; BARHEBRAEUS, *Chron. eccles.*, t. I, p. 298, 367-370; J.-B. Chabot, *La légende de Mar Bassus*, p. V-VII, 61; LAMMENS, *op. cit.*, p. 51-52; *Le Chantre des Omiades*, in the *Journal asiatique*, 1894 (II), p. 220-241; *Un poète royal à la cour des Omiades de Damas*, in the *Rev. de l'Or. chrétien*, 1903, t. VIII, p. 326; *La Syrie*, t. I, p. 69-71, 110, 114, 115, 117, 121, 131, 151.

(104) Cf. Tell-Mahré in *Michael the Syrian*, t. II, p. 492-496, 511; LAMMENS, *Le Liban*, t. II, p. 51, 53.

(105) *Op. cit.*, p. 200-206; cf. DARIAN, who devotes a chapter to this response, *The Substance of the Proofs*, p. 166-178; J. LABOURT, *Le patriarche Timothée et les nestoriens sous les Abbasides*, in *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse*, 1905, t. X, p. 390-391.

(106) H. LAMMENS, *Le Liban*, t. II, p. 29, 51-52.

(107) LAMMENS, *ibid.*, p. 51-53.

(108) Cf. RISTELHUEBER, *op. cit.*, p. 15, 38-39.

(109) DOUAIHI, *Manarat al-aqdas*, t. I, Beyrouth, 1895, edit. CHARTOUNI, p. 103.

(110) LAMMENS, *Le Liban*, t. II, p. 53-54; *La Syrie*, t. I, p. 81-82.

(111) See J.-S. ASSEMANI, *Bibl. orient.*, t. I, p. 307, and in S.-A. ASSEMANI, *op. cit.*, p. XXVIII-XXIX, 18, reproduction from written notes in 1121, 1141, and 1154, on mss. preserved at the Vatican and at the Laurentiana of Florence; cf. also CHEBLI, *Biographie de Douaihi*, p. 37.

(112) KARALEVSKIJ, *loc. cit.*, col. 599.

(113) RÖHRICHT, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* (1100-1291), Innsbruck, 1898, p. 220, n. 6; see also LAMMENS, *Le Liban*, t. II, p. 55.

(114) LAMMENS, *La Syrie*, t. II, p. 16.

(115) *Op. cit.*, p. 19-20.

(116) *La Syrie*, t. I, p. 248.

(117) Jaques DE VITRY, c. LXXVII, in Bongars, t. I, p. 1094.

(118) See the letter of Fr. Gryphon, written from Rome to the Maronites in 1469, cited by H. LAMMENS, *Frère Gryphon*, in the *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 1899, t. IV, p. 94-95.

(119) R. RISTELHUEBER, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

(120) Translation from P. LAMMENS, *Frere Gryphon*, *ibid.*, p. 99-100.

(120a) *Defense of the Maronite Nation*, in Chartouni, *History of the Maronite Nation*, Beyrouth, 1890, p. 368 note.

(121) LAMMENS, *Le Liban*, t. I, p. 87.

(122) DOUAIHI, cited by Chartouni, in *Chronology of the Maronite Patriarchs*, Beyrouth, 1902, p. 21, n. 2.

(122a) *Bibl. orient.*, t. I, p. 307 and 611-612; DOUAIHI, *Chronology*, p. 21-22.

(123) See P. CHEBLI, in *Revue biblique*, 1901, t. X, p. 588-589.

(124) *Mission de Phénicie*, 1864, p. 249.

(125) ASSEMANI, *Bibl. orient.*, t. I, p. 307; DOUAIHI, *Chronologie*, p. 22-23.

(126) See a note written in Arabic in 1154 on the Syriac Book of Gospels PI. 1, 56, preserved at the Laurentiana of Florence, fol. 7. Cf. S.-A. ASSEMANI, *op. cit.*, p. XXVII-XXIX and 18; cf. DARIAN, *The Substance of the Proofs*, p. 302-303.

(127) ASSEMANI, *Bibl. or.*, t. I, p. 522; DOUAIHI, *Chronologie*, p. 23-24.

(128) *Series chronologica patriarcharum Antiochiae* (edition of P.J. Notain Darauni), Rome, 1881, p. 39 of the Arabic text.

(129) DOUAIHI, ms. *Vat. syr.* 395, fol. 98 r° and v°, and 99 r°. Cf. MANSI, *Concil.*, t. XXII, col. 1071.

(130) See the letter of the al-Qela'i in Douaihi, ms. 395, fol. 98 r°; the Bull of Innocent III *Quia divinae sapientiae*; the same Bull sent to the Maronites by Alexandre IV, in T. ANAISSI, *Bullar.*, p. 2-13; P. DIB, *Etude sur la liturgie maronite*, Paris (1919), p. 171.

(131) DOUAIHI, *Chronologie*, p. 24.

(132) DOUAIHI, *Chronologie*, p. 25.

(133) *Annales*, fol. 39; *Chronologie*, p. 20, 24, 25.

(134) Mss. of the Laurentiana of Florence in ASSEMANI (S.A.), *Bibl. med. catal.*, p. XXIX and 19.

(135) *Chronology*, p. 25.

(136) ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 9-13.

(137) Cf. CHEBLI, in *Revue biblique*, 1901, p. 588; GHABRIEL, *History*, t. II, 1st part., p. 209.

(138) DOUAIHI, *Chronology*, p. 26; *Defense*, in Chartouni, *op. cit.*, p. 374, n. 1.

(139) T. IV, Paris, 1822, p. 650-659.

(140) See this letter and the other pontifical documents concerning this mission in SBARALEA, *Bullar. francisc.*, t. I, p. 421-422, 460-461. Cf. Potthast, *Regesta pontif. roman.*, t. II, n. 12.546, 12.630, 12.636, 12.637; GOLUBOVICH, *Bibliotheca*, t. I, p. 215-216; t. II, p. 349-350.

(141) SBARALEA, *loc. cit.*, p. 422.

(142) GOLUBOVICH, *Biblioteca*, t. II, p. 349-350.

(142a) P. 57.

(143) Tobias ANAISSI, *Bullar. Maronit.*, p. 3-4.

(144) DOUAIHI, ms. *Vat. syr.* 395, fol. 98; *Chronology*, p. 26.

(145) H. LAMMENS, *La Syrie*, t. I, p. 261-262.

(146) Rey, *Les colonies franques de Syrie*, p. 79; cf. RENAN, *op. cit.*, p. 240, 252-253; H. LAMMENS, *Le Liban*, t. I, p. 81-89.

(147) *Op. cit.*, p. 236.

(148) LAMMENS, *Le Liban*, t. I, p. 84, 85, 87, 89, 90, 91; RENAN, p. 277, 229, 234.

(149) RISTELHUEBER, *op. cit.*, p. 73-76.

(150) Cited by P. GOUDARD, *La sainte Vierge au Liban*, p. 302.

(151) RISTELHUEBER, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

(152) Ms. arabe de Paris 1704, end of the XIII cent., fol. 94 r°-95 r°.

(153) RISTELHUEBER, *op. cit.*, p. 72-73; see also, p. 309. Cf. also Assemani, *Bibl. or.*, t. IV, p. 433; LE QUIEN, *Oriens christianus*, t. III, col. 83-84; RÖHRICHT-MEISNER, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach den Heiligen Lande*, Berlin, 1880, p. 52; LAMMENS, *Le Liban*, t. II, p. 56; *La Syrie*, t. II, p. 1; De MAS-LATRIE, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, t. I, Paris, 1861, p. 109-110.

(154) *Chorografia e breve historia universale dell'isola de Cipro*, Bologne, 1573, p. 34, cited by A. Palmieri in the art. *Chypre* (Eglise de), of *Dict. de Théol. cath.*, t. II, col. 2462.

(155) Le QUIEN, *loc. cit.*, col. 1208.

(156) DOUAIHI, *Annales*, fol. 74 v°-75 r°, CHEBLI, *Biographie de Douaihi*, p. 38-39.

(157) LAMMENS, *Le Liban*, t. II, p. 56; J. DELAVILLE LE ROULX, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre sainte et à Chypre*, Paris, 1904, p. 272-284.

(158) See *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Egypte, écrite en arabe par Taki-Eddin-Ahmed-Makrizi* (1364-1442), *traduite en français par M. Quatremère*, t. II, Paris, 1845, p. 63-64; CHEBLI, *Le patriarcat maronite d'Antioche*, *loc. cit.*, p. 140; LAMMENS, *La Syrie*, t. II, p. 1 ff; GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, p. CV-CXI.

(159) Transl. LAMMENS, in the *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 1903, t. VIII, p. 104.

(160) DOUAIHI, *Annales*, an. 1442, 1470, 1472, fol. 68 v° and 70 v°; DEBS, *op. cit.*, t. VI, p. 459-461; DARIAN, *The Maronites in Lebanon*, p. 78-91 and 227; LAMMENS, *La Syrie*, t. II, p. 4, 38, 69.

(161) Cited by LAMMENS, *Frère Gryphon*, loc. cit., p. 83.

(162) DOUAIHI, *Chronology*, p. 28-29; GHABRIEL, *loc. cit.*, p. 265-27.

(163) Cited by LAMMENS, *Frère Gryphon*, *ibid.*, p. 92.

(164) LAMMENS, *Fr. Gryphon*, *ibid.*, p. 72 and 77. Ct. DOUAIHI, *Annales*, an. 1438, fol. 67 v°-68 v°; MARCELLINO DE CIVEZZA, *Histoire universelle des missions franciscaines*, t. III *a*, Paris, 1898, p. 209.

(165) LAMMENS, *ibid.*, p. 78.

(166) Letter *Placuit omnipotenti Deo* August 19, 1447, in ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 17-18; *Cod. Vat. arab.* 640, fol. 31.

(167) MARCELLINO DE CIVEZZA, *Loc. cit.*, p. 209.

(168) *Frère Gryphon*, p. 87-88. Cf. also MARCELLINO DE CIVEZZA, *op. cit.*, t. III *a*, p. 208.

(169) MARCELLINO DE CIVEZZA, *loc. cit.*, p. 210-211; LAMMENS, *ibid.*, p. 88-89.

(170) Translation LAMMENS, *ibid.*, p. 94-95. The Arabic text of this letter is found in DOUAIHI, ms. 395, fol. 117 v°-118 v°. Cf. the Bull *Cunctarum orbis Ecclesiarum* of Leo X, July 23, 1515, in ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 46.

(171) See the letter *Virtutum Deus* of Paul II, August 5, 1469, in ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 22-25.

(172) DOUAIHI, *Chronology*, p. 29; GHABRIEL, *loc. cit.*, p. 269-270.

(173) DOUAIHI, *Annales*, an. 1438, fol. 67 v°-68.

(174) DOUAIHI, ms. 395, fol. 105 v°-106 r°; *Annales*, an. 1439, fol. 68 r°.

(175) DOUAIHI, *Annales*, an. 1440, fol. 68 r° and v°; *Chronology*, p. 30.

(176) *Les voyages du Seigneur de Villamont*, Lyon 1609, p. 359.

(177) *Voyage de Syrie et du Mont-Liban*, t. I, Paris, 1722, p. 50-52.

(178) DOUAIHI, *Annales*, an. 1445, fol. 69 r°; ms. 395, fol. 114 v°.

(179) ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 18. Cf. DOUAIHI, ms. 395, fol. 121 v°.

(180) DOUAIHI, *Annales*, an. 1458, fol. 69 v°; ms. 395, fol. 117; *Chronology*, p. 32.

(181) *Loc. cit.*, p. 215.

(182) DOUAIHI, ms. 395, fol. 117 and 121 v°-122.

(183) *Loc. cit.*, p. 215-216; DOUAIHI, *Annales*, an. 1470, fol. 70 v°.

(184) DOUAIHI, ms. 395, fol. 123 r°-125 r°; *Annales* an. 1488, fol. 71 v°-72 r° amd v°.

(185) In MARCELLINO DE CIVEZZA, *loc. cit.*, p. 214-215.

(186) See Fr. Francesco Suriano who had known them, *op. cit.*, p. 70-71; DOUAIHI, *Annales*, an. 1471, fol. 70 v°; ms. 395, fol. 121.

(187) DOUAIHI, ms. 395, fol. 130 r° and v°.

(188) See a letter by him, August 5, 1495, in DOUAIHI, *ibid.*, fol. 128 v°-130 r°.

(189) See DOUAIHI, *ibid.*, fol. 125 v°-127 r°; Georges Manache, Maronite Chor-Bishop of Aleppo, in the review *al-Machriq*, 1920, p. 252-256, etc.

(190) See J.-S. ASSEMANI, *Bibl. or.*, t. I, p. 577; S.-A. ASSEMANI, *op. cit.*, p. 386-387; DOUAIHI, *ibid.*, fol. 125 r°-127 r°; *Annales*, an. 1494, 1516, fol. 72 v° and 78 v°; LE QUIEN, t. III, col. 86.

(191) DOUAIHI, *Annales*, an, 1507 and 1516.

(192) See P. DIB, *L'Eglise maronite*, t. I, Paris, 1930, p. 152.

(193) See, for details, P. DIB, *ibid.*, p. 260-262.

(194) *Chrografia e breve historia universale dell'isola de cipro*, Bologne, 1573, p. 34, cited by A. PALMIERI, *Chypre (Eglise de)*, in *Diction. de Théologie catholique*, t. II, col. 2462.

(195) LE QUIEN, *Oriens christianus*, t. III, Paris, 1740, col. 1208.

(196) Constit, *Benedictus sit Deus*, August 7, 1445, in LABBE and COSSART, *Sacrosancta concilia*, t. XIII, Paris, 1672, col. 1225-1228; MANSI, *op. cit.*, t. XXXI b, Paris, 1901, col. 1755-1757.

(197) *Concil.*, t. XXXI b, col. 1450 and col. 1750.

(198) See in J.-S. ASSEMANI, *Bibl. or.*, t. I, p. 307 and in S.-A. ASSEMANI, *op. cit.*, p. XXVIII-XXIX, 18, the reproduction of some notes written in 1121, 1141 and 1154.

(199) In DOUAIHI, *Chronology*, p. 28; cf. LE QUIEN, t. III, col. 83.

(200) Ms. *Vat. syr.* 395, fol. 110.

(201) ANAISSI, *Bul.*, p. 36.

(202) See above.

(203) See the acta of this council and the formula of the profession of Faith in LABBE, *Concil.*, t. XI b. col. 2432-2439.

(204) On the history of the Maronites under the Ottomans, see Pierre DIB, *L'Eglise maronite*, t. II, Beyrouth, 1962.

(205) Cf. Fr. LAMMENS, *La Syrie*, t. II, p. 43 ff. and 61 ff.

(206) H. LAMMENS, *La Syrie*, t. II, p. 65-66.

(207) DOUAIHI, *Annales*, an. 1675, fol. 116 r°; CHEBLI, *Biographie de Douaihi*, p. 99-104; LAMMENS, *loc. cit.*, p. 67-69.

(208) LAMMENS, *loc. cit.*, p. 66-67.

(209) RISTELHUEBER, *op. cit.*, p. 25-26. On Fakhraddin II, see LAMMENS, *loc. cit.*, p. 71-90; F. WÜSTENFELD, *Fachr-ed-din der Drusenfurst und seine Zeitgenossen*, in *Abhandlungen der k. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, t. XXXIII, 1886.

(210) WÜSTENFELD, *op. cit.*, p. 139, note; LAMMENS, *loc. cit.*, p. 81, 85-86.

(211) *Ibid.*

(212) See DOUAIHI, *Annales*, an. 1633, ff., fol. 104 ff.; JOUPLAIN, *La question du Liban*, Paris, 1908, p. 121.

(213) LAMMENS, p. 93; JOUPLAIN, *ibid.*, p. 121.

(214) LAMMENS, *loc. cit.*, p. 86.

(215) H. GUYS, *Beyrouth et le Liban. Relation d'un séjour de plusieurs années dans ce pays*, t. II, Paris, 1850, p. 45; LAMMENS, *loc. cit.*, p. 89,93.

(216) DOUAIHI, *Annales*, an. 1697, fol. 120 r°; LAMMENS, *ibid.*, p. 92-94.

(217) LAMMENS, *La Syrie*, vol. II, p. 96, 98, 102.

(218) DEBS, *op. cit.*, t. VII, p. 221-224; t. VIII, p. 488-509; LAMMENS, *ibid.*, p. 92-102; patriarch MAS'AD, *Addor-oul-manzoum*, 1863, p. 73. On Bechir II, see also a study of Eugene Bore in *Revue de l'Orient*, reproduced in part by H. GUYS, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 289-323.

(219) P. 'ABBOUD, *Biographie de Hendiyé*, p. 203-204; 217-218; JOUPLAIN, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

(220) See C.-F. VOLNEY, *Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie pendant les années 1783, 1784 et 1785*, t. I, Paris, 1822, p. 396 and 399; Pococke who was in Lebanon in 1745, cited by GEORGE YOUNG, *Corps de droit ottoman*, t. I, Oxford, 1905, p. 136.

(221) LAMMENS, *ibid.*, p. 97 ff., 112 ff.; JOUPLAIN, *op. cit.*, p. 131-132; P. 'ABBOUD, *op. cit.*, p. 215-219.

(222) T. ANAISSI, *Collectio docum. maronit.*, LIVORNO, 1921, p. 134.

(223) See the text of this firman in JOUPLAIN, *op. cit.*, p. 254-256.

(224) See the detail in LAMMENS, *La Syrie*, t. II, p. 171-173.

(225) RISTELHUEBER, *op. cit.*, p. 31-32.

(226) *Les maronites, d'après le ms. arabe du R. P. Azar, vicaire général de Saïda (Terre-Sainte), délégué du patriarche d'Antioche et de la nation maronite*, Cambrai, 1852, p. 130-132; see also, p. 159-161; 178-185, 189; Louis DE BAUDICOUR, *La France au Liban*, Paris, 1879, p. 48-96; 339-343.

(227) TESTA, *Recueil des traités de la Porte ottomane avec les Puissances étrangères*, t. III, Paris, 1866, p. 200-202.

(228) See the translation of this letter in H. GUYS, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 324-336; see also an appeal addressed to the Christians of Europe by a French Committee of Beyrouth, *ibid*, p. 337-343, and two other appeals sent to the women of France, the first by Msgr. Boustany himself, dated December 20, 1846, the other by the Maronites of mixed districts, May15, 1847, in the work already cited *Les Maronites d'après le manuscrit arabe du R.P. Azar...*

(229) See an excellent presentation of the situation by P. de la GORCE, *Histoire du second Empire*, t. III, Paris, 1896, p. 301-304.

(230) F. LENORMANT, *Histoire des massacres de Syrie en 1860*, Paris 1891, p. 88-90. See also P. de la GORCE, *loc. cit.*, p. 302 ff. a memorandum of the Patriarch and the Bishops sent to Khourchid Pacha, June 10, 1860, in TESTA, *op. cit.*, t. VI, Paris 1884, p. 72-74; P.C. de ROCHEMONTEIX, *Le Liban et l'expédition française en Syrie (1860-1861)*, Paris, 1921, p. 91 ff.

(231) Cf. P.M. el-HATTOUNY, *Historical Précis of the Province of Kasrawan* (in Arabic), 1884; p. 357.

(232) F. LENORMANT, *op. cit.*, p. 127-128.

(233) See this treatise in TESTA, *op. cit.*, t. VI, Paris, 1884, p. 84-86.

(234) Cf. P.M. el-HATTOUNY, *op. cit.*, p. 357-359; J. DEBS, *op. cit.*, t. VIII, p. 759.

(235) LAMMENS, *loc. cit.*, p. 187-189.

(236) See these very curious documents in C. de ROCHEMONTEIX, *Le Liban et l'expédition française en Syrie* (1860-1861), Paris, 1921.

(237) C. de ROCHEMONTEIX, *op. cit.*, p. 168-172, 179-180, 290-291.

(238) *Ibid.*, p. 226.

(239) *Ibid.*, p. 242, 243, 246-252, 262-265.

(240) Cf. DEBS, *op. cit.*, t. VIII, p. 728-733; JOUPLAIN, *op. cit.*, p. 467-469.

(241) C. DE ROCHEMONTEIX, *op. cit.*, p. 265-269.

(242) LAMMENS, *loc. cit.*, p. 189-190.

(243) See the letters of the patriarch in Hardouin, *Acta Concil.*, t. IX, col. 1857-1867; the letters *Nuncius tuus*, August 20, 1515 and *Cunctarum orbis Ecclesiarum*, July 23, 1515, in ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 32-32, 44-51; GOLUBOVICH, *Il trattato di Terra Santa e dell'oriente di Fr. Francesco Suriano*, p. LIX.

(244) GOLUBOVICH, *op. cit.*, *ibid.*, and p. 71.

(245) See the Pontifical letters in ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 25 ff., the letters of the Patriarch, February 14, 1515, in MANSI, *Concil.*, t. XXXII, col. 942-943.

(246) ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 46-47.

(247) DOUAIHI, *Annales*, an. 1524, fol. 80 v°.

(248) DOUAIHI, *Annales*, an. 1524, fol. 80 v°; ms. 395, fol. 137 v°-138 r°; *Chronology*, p. 34.

(249) See ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 53-68; *Collectio*, p. 44-47.

(250) Letter *Superiori anno*, January 25, 1532, in ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 55-56.

(251) Letter *Maxima nos* of November 21, 1542 to the Patriarch; letter *Attulit ad nos*, same date, to *mouqaddam* John 'Abd al-Mon'em, in ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 57-61.

(252) Letter *Suis nobis litteris*, September 18, 1544, *ibid.*, p. 62-63.

(253) Letter *Ex litteris quas dilectus*, November 12, 1556, ANAISSI, p. 64-65; DOUAIHI, ms. 395, fol. 139 r°.

(254) Douaihi, *Annales*, an. 1557, fol. 85 v°.

(255) Ms. 395, fol. 137 v°-138 r°; *Annales*, an. 1561, fol. 86 v°.

(256) Douaihi, *Annales*, an. 1561, fol. 86 v°-87 r°.

(257) Anaissi, p. 66.

(258) See a note written on the first page of the Syriac ms. 203 of the Bibliothèque nationale de Paris; Douaihi, ms. 395, fol. 140 r°; *Annales*, an. 1567, fol. 87 v°-88 r°.

(259) In Anaissi, p. 75-78.

(260) Douaihi, ms. 295, fol 140 r°-144 v°; *Annales*, an. 1580, fol. 91 r°; P. Dib, *Les conciles de l'Eglise maronite (de 1557 à 1644)*, in the *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 1924, t. IV, p. 216-218; Anaissi, *Bull.*, p. 75-78 and 89-91.

(261) On these two missions, see P. Dib, art. cited, p. 199-220; L. Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, t. IX, 1923, p. 741-743.

(262) P. Dib, *loc. cit.*, p. 219-220.

(262) See the Pontifical documents in Anaissi, *Bull.*, p. 81-89.

(264) Douaihi, ms. 395, fol. 140 r° and v°.

(265) The brief *Romani Pontificis*, July 12, 1584, in Anaissi, p. 98-100.

(266) Brief *Inter caetera*, August 2, 1585, Anaissi, *Bull.*, p. 100-103, and also, *Collectio*, p. 91.

(267) Douaihi, ms. 395, *fol.* 146 r°. On the origins of this college, see L. Cheikho, S.J., *La nation maronite et la Compagnie de Jésus aux XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles*, Beyrouth, 1923, p. 69 ff.

(268) *Script. vet. nova collectio*, t. IV, Rome 1831, p. 524.

(269) See the briefs *Magno semper* of Pius VIII, January 11, 1830 and *Etsi dubium* of Georgery XVI, July 14, 1832, in R. de Martinis, *Jus pontificium de Prop. Fide*, t. IV, p. 723 and t. V, p. 47-48; and esp. the brief *Sapienter olim* of Leo XIII, November 30, 1891, in Anaissi, *Bull.*, p. 537-540.

(270) Dandini, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

(271) Dandini, *ibid.*

(272) Letter *Benedicimus Deum caeli*, Anaissi, *Bull.*, p. 108-109.

(273) On this mission, see P. Dib, art. cit., p. 421-429.

(274) Brief *Sapienter olim* of Leo XIII, November 30, 1891, in *Leonis XIII Pont. Max. acta*, t. XI, p. 376.

(275) Dandini, *op. cit.*, p. 125 and 102.

(276) See the text of these synods in Ant. Rabbath, s.j., *Documents inédits*, t. I, p. 152-169 and in Dandini, *op. cit.*, p. 121-128.

(277) P. Dib, art. cit., p. 434-436.

(278) See the letter of Fr. Gryphon, written from Rome to the Maronites, in 1469, in Douaihi, ms. 395, fol. 117 v°-118 v°; the Syr. ms. 71 of the Bibl. Nat. de Paris, executed in 1454.

(279) P. DIB, *loc. cit.*, p. 434-436; *Liturgie maronite*, p. 35-36. Cf. a ms. missal of 1536, which is to be found at the Vatican Vat. syr. 29, and four rituals of Baptism of the XVI cent. preserved among the Syriac Mss. of the Bibliothèque nationale de Paris under the nos 116-119; Synod of Lebanon, part. II, c. II, n. 2.

(280) *Jerosolymitana peregrinatio ill. princ. N.C. Radzivili, ducis Olicae... prium a Thoma Tretero, Custode Varmiensi ex polonico sermone in latinum translata*, Anvers, 1614, p. 26.

(281) P. DIB, *loc, cit.*, p. 436-437.

(282) ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 119-121.

(283) P. DIB, *Le pouvoir de dispenser de la consanguinité et de l'affinité au deuxième degré chez les Maronites*, Paris, 1915, p. 1-7.

(284) P. DIB, *Les conciles de l'Eglise maronite*, *ibid.*, p. 430-431.

(285) J. DEBS, *op. cit.*, t. VII, p. 133.

(286) *Le bouquet sacré*, Rouen, 1698, p. 558.

(287) Letter *Ecce quam bonum* July 1, 1622, Anaissi, p. 129-131. See an account written from Aleppo, in 1635, by Fr. Maniglier, S.J., in A. RABBATH, *op. cit.*, t. II, 3 fascicles, Beyrouth, 1921, p. 507; a note written by another contemporary, Archbishop Georges Habqouq al-Bech'elani on a copy of the *Annales* of Douaihi, and published by Fr. Harfouche in the review *al-Machriq*, 1902, t. V, p. 689.

(288) ANAISSI, *Collectio*, p. 195-196; DOUAIHI, ms. 395, fol. 150 v°-151 r°.

(289) See the acts of the consistory where Makhlouf was confirmed, in the *codex Vat. lat.* 7258, fol. 153-168; Douaihi, ms. 395, fol. 150 v°-151 r°.

(290) See the letters *Ecce quam bonum*, July 1, 1622 and *Sacrosanctum apostolatus*, April 5, 1624, in ANAISSI, p. 129-132.

(291) See the briefs *In supereminenti*, July 24, 1625; *Cum nos super*, July 30, 1625; *Non exaruit*, August 30, 1625, and *Quamvis mare*, November 25, 1628, in Anaissi, p. 132-140; DOUAIHI, *Annales*, an. 1624, fol. 102 r°; ms. 395, fol. 151 v°-152 r°.

(292) See Fr. EUGENE ROGER, *La Terre sainte*, Paris, 1664, p. 434 and 485

(293) The Patriarch P. MAS'AD, *op. cit.*, p. 159-160. See G. DE VAUMAS, *L'éveil missionnaire de la France au XVII^e siècle* (Paris 1959), p. 333, n. 1.

(294) Letter *Quamvis mare*, November 25, 1628, in ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 140; DOUAIHI, ms. 395, fol. 153 v°.

(295) See the letter to Clement VIII, in ANAISSI, *Collect.*, p. 92-93.

(296) P. JEAN BOUCHER, *ibid.*, p. 199.

(297) *Op. cit.*, p. 494.

(298) ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 143-145.

(299) See the two letters addressed by Fr. Amieu to the General of the Jesuits, April 11 and August 12, 1643, in RABBATH, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 433, n. 1.

(300) Brief *Quoniam divinae bonitati*, July 6, 1648, in ANAISSI, p. 145-151; DOUAIHI, *Annales*, an. 1635, fol. 106 r°.

(301) Brief *Romanus Pontifex*, Oct. 22, 1665, in DE MARTINIS, *Jus pontificium*, t. I, p. 360.

(302) See a letter of Patriarch James Awad of 1726 to the Pope in ANAISSI, *Collectio*, p. 142-143.

(303) See *Relazione dell'ablegazione apostolica alla nazione de' Maroniti nella Siria, e Monte Libano* (in 1736) *di Monsignor Guiseppe Simonio Assemani alla S. Congr. de Propaganda Fide*, Rome, 1741, p. 3 and 13.

(304) See the note written by al-Bech'elani, that we have cited above, in the review *al-Machriq*, 1902, t. V, p. 689-690.

(305) *Ibid.*, p. 690.

(306) See a letter of Paul V in ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 122; an account of P. Maniglier, in RABBATH, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 507.

(307) DOUAIHI, *Annales*, an. 1644, fol. 109 v°-110 r°.

(308) Cited by P. CHEBLI, *Biographie de Douaihi*, p. 11. On 'Amira, cf. also ASSEMANI, *Bibl. or.*, t. I, p. 552.

(309) See a letter of Innocent X in *Cod. Vat. lat.* 7258, fol. 102.

(310) See a letter of four archbishops in ANAISSI, *Collectio*, p. 113.

(311) See P. DIB, *Les Conciles...*, p. 432-434; the note of al-Bech'alani, cited above, in *al-Machriq*, 1902, t. V, p. 690-691; ASSEMANI, *Bibl. or.*, t. I, p. 553-554.

(312) DOUAIHI, *Chronology*, p. 38.

(313) ANAISSI, *Collectio*, p. 116-117.

(314) DE LA ROQUE, *op. cit.*, t. II, Paris, 1722, p. 131.

(315) AL-BECH'ELANI, *loc. cit*; DOUAIHI, *Annales*, an. 1656, fol. 112 v°.

(316) Cf. P. DIB, *Liturgie maronite*, p. 148-150; ASSEMANI, *Bibl. juris.* t. V, p. XV-XVI.

(317) See the royal letters delivered April 28, 1649, in Ristelhueber, *op. cit.*, p. 130-131. On Chedraoui, see ASSEMANI, *Bible. or.*, t. I, p. 552-553; Arabic review *al-Machriq*, 1899, t. II, p. 939; RISTELHUEBER, *op. cit.*, p. 126 and 153-155.

(318) ANAISSI, *Collectio*, p. 119; cf. RISTELHUEBER, *op. cit.*, p. 148-149 See the details in CHARLES-ROUX (F.), *France et chrétiens d'Orient*, Paris 1939, p. 48-55.

(319) DOUAIHI, *Annales*, an. 1657. fol. 112 v°-113 r°; P. CHEBLI, *Biographie de Douaihi*, p. 30-31.

(320) R. RISTELHUEBER, *op. cit.*, p. 136-138.

(321) *Mémoires du chevalier d'Arvieux*, published by Fr. J.-B. Labat, t. II, Paris, 1735, p. 418-432. See also the witness of another contemporary

Fr. Besson, Superior of the Missions of the Society of Jesus in Syria and Persia (*La Syrie Sainte*, Paris, 1660, p. 91).

(322) G. DE VAUMAS, *ibid.*, p. 349.

(323) G. LEVENQ, S.J., *La première mission de la Compagnie de Jésus en Syrie* (1625-1774), Beyrouth, 1925, p. 25.

(324) G. DE VAUMAS. *ibid.*, p. 349.

(325) RISTELHUEBER, *op., cit.*, p. 153-201; de LA ROQUE, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 286-289.

(326) DOUAIHI, *Annales*, an. 1670, fol. 115 r°; P. CHEBLI, *Biographie de Douaihi*, p. 47-48; the note of al-Bech'elani, in *al-Machriq*, 1902, t. V, p. 691.

(327) Letters, *Divina disponente clementia*, August 8, 1672, and *Cum nos super*, December 12 of the same year, Anaissi, *Bull.*, p. 170-179; letter of Douaihi to the General of the Society of Jesus, August 28, 1671, in Rabbath, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 180-181.

(328) ANAISSI, p. 179-180.

(329) See A. VANDAL, *L'Odyssée d'un ambassadeur. Les voyages du marquis de Nointel* (1670-1680), Paris, 1900, p. 153 ff.

(330) In ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 183-184.

(331) René RISTELHUEBER, *op. cit.*, p. 222-223.

(332) CHEBLI, *Biographie de Douaihi*, p. 108. See RISTELHUEBER, *op.cit.*, p. 221 ff.

(333) RISTELHUEBER, *op. cit.*, p. 207. See a letter of Louis XIV to the Patriarch, August 10, 1701, in DE LA ROQUE, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 315-317.

(334) *Op. cit.*, t. I, p. 630. On the scientific work of Douaihi, see CHEBLI, *Biographie du patriarche Douaihi*, p. 153 and 199-214; on his reform of the ritual and of the pontifical, P. DIB, *Liturgie maronite*, p. 90-94, 170-173.

(335) CHEBLI, *op. cit.*, p. 136-142. See also a decree of the S.C. of Propaganda in the *Cod. Vat. lat.* 7262, fol. 6 v°-7 reproduced by P. DIB, *Les conciles de l'Eglise maronite*, *loc. cit.*, p. 194.

(336) On Douaihi, see his biography written by Chebli and which we have cited above.

(337) Cf. RISTELHUEBER, who has retraced the details of this visit, *op. cit.*, p. 218 ff.

(338) *Op. cit.*, p. 225-232.

(339) See the documents in the *Cod. Vat. lat.* 7262, fol. 139, 144-149, and in ANAISSI, *Collect.*, p. 133-137.

(340) Cf. also RISTELHUEBER, p. 233-236.

(341) Letter *Cum nos nuper*, March 24, 1706, ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 186-197.

(342) See the constit. *Allatae sunt* of Benedict XIV, July 26, 1755, § 17; a letter of cardinal Borgia, prefect of Propaganda, to the Eastern Patriarchs and Bishops, July 6, 1803, in ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 451-454.

(343) RISTELHUEBER, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

(344) *Op. cit.*, p. 240-271.

(345) DEBS, *op. cit.*, t. VIII, p. 511; M. GHABRIEL, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 551.

(346) *Op. cit.*, p. 243.

(347. RISTELHUEBER, *op. cit.*, p. 241-242.

(348) *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses. Mémoires du Levant*, t. I, Lyon, 1819, p. 180-181.

(349) See the letter that Clement XI wrote on January 31, 1711 to the Episcopate, clergy, and notables of the Maronite nation, in ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 197-198.

(350) Decree of Propaganda of May 8, 1713, in Anaissi, *Collectio*, p. 138-139, account of QARAALI, *ibid.*, p. 185; J. DEBS, *op. cit.*, t. VIII, p. 512-513; RISTELHUEBER, *op. cit.*, p. 250-251.

(351) RISTELHUEBER, p. 252-253.

(352) RISTELHUEBER, *op. cit.*, p. 251 ff.; ANAISSI, *Collectio*, p. 139-140; DE MARTINIS, *Jus pontificium*, t. VII, p. 95.

(353) See the text of these two decisions in ANAISSI, *Collectio*, p. 137-139.

(354) ANAISSI, *ibid.*, p. 139-140; DE MARTINIS, *op. cit.*, t. VII, p. 95.

(355) RISTELHUEBER, *op. cit.*, p. 257-258.

(356) *Ibid.*, p. 258-259.

(357) RISTELHUEBER, p. 259.

(358) RISTELHUEBER, *op. cit.*, p. 261-263.

(359) Account of Farhat and of Qaraali in the *Chronology of the Maronite Patriarchs*, edit. Chartouni, p. 46, note and p. 187 ff.; cf. RISTELHUEBER, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

(360) RISTELHUEBER, *op. cit.*, p. 265-268.

(361) RISTELHUEBER, p. 269-270.

(362) RISTELHUEBER, *op. cit.*, p. 257, 260, 268-270.

(363) Cited by CHARTOUNI, *Chronology of the Maronite Patriarchs*, p. 46, note.

(364) Brief *Magno cum animi*, in DE MARTINIS, *Jus pontific.*, t. II, p. 302.

(365) *Ibid.*, t. III, p. 152.

(366) See the letters *Etsi quotquot*, January 28, 1721; *Quod pastoralis officii*, same date; *Ex Romani Pontificis*, February 1, 1721; *Cum sicut accepimus*, March 12, 1721, in ANAISSI. *Bull.*, p. 208-214; DE MARTINIS, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 342-344, t. VII, p. 97-98.

(367) See the letter *Exultavimus coram Domino* of Innocent XIII, February 12, 1723, in ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 214-216.

(368) See the letter of Cardinal Sacripante, Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda in ANAISSI, *Collectio*, p. 141-142.

(369) Letter *In supremo militantis Ecclesiae*, July 14, 1732, in Anaissi, *Bull.*, p. 277-231.

(370) Letters *Injunctum nobis*, October 7, 1744, and *Apostolatus officium*, November 8, 1745, in ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 318-328.

(371) Letter, *Alias porrectus nobis* of Benedict XIV, December 18, 1753, in ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 347-348. Cf. Patriarch MAS'AD, *op. cit.*, p. 161-162.

(372) Cf. *Bibl. or.*, t. I, praef., p. XI.

(373) See the letters of his successor and of the electoral college to the Pope and the Congregation of the Propaganda, in *Cod. Vat. lat.* 7258, fol. 208-209 and 212-213.

(374) See the letter addressed to Propaganda by one of the electors, 'Abdallah Qaraali, Archbihsop of Beyrouth, February 28, 1733, in ANAISSI, *Collect.*, p. 143-144; LE QUIEN, *Oriens christianus*, t. III, col. 76.

(375) Letter *Cum nos a vinculo*, December 18, 1733, in ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 232-234; see also p. 235-237.

(376) *Difesa del sinodo libanese celebrato d'ordine della Santa Sede nel Monte Libanno l'anno 1736*, Rome, 1741, p. 55.

(377) Cf. two letters addressed by three Maronite archbishops, to Propaganda on February 28, 1733 of which one is found in the *Cod. Vat. lat.* 7262, fol. 178 and the other in the *Difesa del sinodo libanese*, cited above p. 55-56.

(178) Letter of July 28, 1734, in *Synodus provincialis a Remo D. Patriarcha Antiocheno, Archiepiscopis et episcopis, nec non clero seculari et regulari nationis Syrorum Maronitarum una cum Remo D. Josepho Simonio Assemano, Sedis Apostolicae Ablegato, in Monte Libano celebrata anno 1736, diebus 30 septembris, prima et secunda octobris, Clemente XII Pont. Max.*, Rome, 1820, p. II. See *ibid.*, p. III, the other letters of July 27 and 31 and August 8 of the same year.

(379) See the divers pieces *ibid.*, p. III-XIV, and ANAISSI, *Collectio*, p. 146-147.

(380) See the report written by Assemani under the title *Relazione dell'ablegazione apostolica alla nazione de' Maroniti nella Siria, e Monte Libano di Monsignor Guiseppe Simonio Assemani alla S. Congregazione de Propaganda Fide*, Rome, 1741, p. 2-4; J.-S. ASSEMANI, *Bibl. juris*, t. I, p. VI-VIII.

(381) These letters are found in the appendenda of the synod of Lebanon, p. 445-449.

(382) *Relazione*, p. 5-7.

(383) *Relazione*, p. 7-10.

(384) See *Relazione*, p. 14 ff.; Fr. FROMAGE, *Lettres édifiantes, loc. cit.*, p. 409, 411; a report preserved in the archives of the Maronite hospice of Rome, published by ANAISSI, *Collectio*, p. 148.

(385) *Synode du Liban*, p. XV-XVI; *Relazione*, p. 9-10.

(386) Mansi, *Concil.*, t. XIII, *col.* 437; Theod. BALSAMON, *Canones Sanctae et universalis VII synodi*, *P.G.*, t. CXXXVII, *col.* 990-994; and see E. MARIN, *Les moines de Constantinople*, Paris, 1897, p. 41-42.

(387) *Relazione*, p. 19 and 24.

(388) Decree of Propaganda, August 27, 1741, p. 473 of the *Synode du Liban*.

(389) DE MARTINIS, *Jus pontific.*, t. III, p. 48-52; see *ibidem*, p. 47-48, note, the brief *Literae fraternitatis tuae*, February 19, 1742, addressed to the patriarch.

(390) On all these questions see J.-S. ASSEMANI, *Bibl. juris*, t. I, p. v-VIII; *Kalendaria Ecclesiae universae*, Rome, 1755, t. V (preface); *Relazione*, p. 12 ff.; a letter of Assemani to Clement XII, January 17, 1737, in the append. of the *Synode du Liban*, p. 460-465; an anonymous report written by a contemporary who had taken part in running these affairs, under the title *Relazione di alcuni accidenti occorsi nella Siria pressa la nazione maronita, e provvedimenti sopra di essi presi dalla Santa Sede apostolica* (Rome, 1744); two printed fascicles of the plea presented *cum summario* to Propaganda *in difesa del sinodo libanese*, Rome, 1741; the *Riposta alla difesa di Monsignor Ill^mo e Re^mo Giuseppe Simonio Assemani, umiliata alla S. C. de Prop. Fide dal sacerd. Elia Felice, inviato del Patriarca de' Maroniti*, in the archives of St. Peter in Chains at Rome (cod. *AF XI.* 101); this *Riposta* is cited by Hugo LAEMMER, *Zur Kirchengeschichte des sechszehnten und siebenzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Fribourg-en-B., 1863, p. 60. See also a report preserved in the archives of the Maronite hospice of Rome and published by ANAISSI, *Collect.*, p. 148-149; Steven Awad ASSEMANI, *Bibl. medic. laurent. et palat. cod. mss. orient. catalogus*, p. 118-120; the decree of Propaganda of August 27, 1741, p. 472-474 of *Synode du Liban*; the briefs of Benedict XIV, *Singularis Romanorum Pontificum*, September 1, 1741 (confirmation of the synod); *Quam de praeclara*, September 14, 1741 (to Assemani), in S.-A. ASSEMANI, *loc. cit.*, p. 120-122; *Apostolicae servitutis onus*, February 16, 1742, in R. DE MARTINIS, *Benedicti XIV acta sive nondum sive sparsim edita nunc primum collecta*, t. I, Naples, 1894, p. 103-105; *Nuper ad sedandas*, March 16, 1743, in. R. DE MARTINIS, *Jus pontific.*, t. III, p. 104-105.

(391) See a memorandum concerning the Arabic text, by the Patriarch Mas'ad (1854-1890), in P. 'ABBOUD, *Biography of Patriarch John Estephan*, (in Arabic), Beyrouth, 1911, append., p. 134-145.

(392) See a note written by the newly elected Elias Mohasseb, on a ritual of ordinations, and cited by P. Chebli in the review *al-Machriq*, 1899, t. II, p. 642.

(393) See *Relazione di alcuni accidenti*, p. 16-19; the allocution of Benedict XIV to the consistory of July 13, 1744, in DE MARTINIS, *Jus pontif.*, t. III, p. 152.

(394) See the briefs *Quod non humana*, March 13, 1743, and *Magna non minus*, March 14 of the same year, in DE MARTINIS, *Jus pontific.*, t. III, p. 96-98.

(395) *Ibid.*, p. 96-97.

(396) In DE MARTINIS, *Jus pontif.*, t. III, p. 153. See also the brief *Nuper ad nos*, March 17, 1743, *ibid.*, p. 99-103.

(397) In DE MARTINIS, *Jus pontific.*, *ibid.*, p. 104.

(398) *Jus pontific.*, p. 155.

(399) See the *Actes* of this consistory in *Jus pontific.*,t. III, p. 151-156, and in ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 292-308, See also the *Relazione di alcuni accidenti*, p. 19-30; divers pontifical letters of August 11, 1744 and of July 20, 1746, in *Jus pontific.*, t. III, p. 157-159, 289-294, and in ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 308-316.

(400) See the briefs *A dilecto filio* to the Patriarch, July 10, 1746; *Nemini sane* to P. Desiderio, July 22, 1746; *Non possumus* to the five bishops in question, and *Praeclara de constanti* to the clergy and to the faithful of their dioceses, same date, in *Jus pontific.*, t. III, p. 289-294.

(401) The acts of this assembly are in CHARTOUNI, *Les synodes maronites*, Beyrouth, 1904, p. 9-14; cf. the letter of Benedict XIV, *Quoniam*, in *Jus pontific.*, t. III, p. 560-561.

(402) See P. 'ABBOUD, *Biography of Hendiyah* (in Arabic), Beyrouth, 1910, p. 1-50; two reports of Fr. Desiderio da Casabasciana, apostolic legate in P. 'ABBOUD, *Relazioni della nazione maronita colla Santa Sede nel secolo XVIII*, t. I, Beyrouth, 1909, p. 78 ff.; 100 ff.

(403) See the brief in *Jus. pontific.*, t. III, p. 482-483. See also an other brief *Alias nostras*, January 15, 1753, in R. DE MARTINIS, *Benedicti XIV acta*, t. II, p. 122-124; a letter of J.-S. Assemani to the Archbishop of Aleppo in 'ABBOUD, *Relazioni*, t. I, p. 37-39 of the Arabic part.

(404) See the briefs *Hasce nostras*, December 9, 1752; *Immensa pastorum* and *Ex ipsis aliorum*, same date, in R. de MARTINIS, *Benedicti XIV acta*, t. II, p. 118-120.

(405) *Jus pontific.*, t. III, p. 350, n. 1.

(406) P. 'ABBOUD., *Biography*, p. 126, 129, 134-146.

(407) See P. 'ABBOUD, *Relazioni*, t. I, p. 134-190.

(408) Report of P. Mancini in 'ABBOUD, *ibid.*, p. 195-211. See also the résumé of another report in the *Biography of Hendiyah*, p. 143-146.

(409) 'ABBOUD, *Relazioni*, t. I, p. 213; see also *ibid.*, p. 289, the report of Cardinal Boschi of 1779.

(410) *Ibid.*, p. 215.

(411) P. 'ABBOUD, *Biography of Hendiyah*, p. 148-151.

(412) T. III, p. 681-686, t. VII, p. 184-186; ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 354-374.

(413) Text of this Council in CHARTOUNI, *op. cit.*, p. 14-17.

(414) P. 'ABBOUD, *Biography of Patriarch Joseph Estephan*, p. 8-10.

(415) P. 'ABBOUD, *Biography of Hendiyah*, append., p. 38-40.

(416) Report of Cardinal Boschi, June 25, 1779, in P. 'ABBOUD, *Relazioni*, t. I, p. 287-288.

(417) 'ABBOUD, *Biography of Hendiyah*, p. 155-156 and append., p. 35-37.

(418) See the synodal letter of the bishops, June 10, 1766, in 'ABBOUD, *Biography of Patriarch Joseph Estephan*, append., p. 53-54, and the consistorial allocution of April 6, 1767, in DE MARTINIS, *Jus pontific.*, t. IV, p. 148.

(419) *Jus pontific.*, t. IV, p. 149-150.

(420) See the letter of Cardinal Castelli, Prefect of Propaganda, of December 11, 1769 and the joint instructions of this letter in 'ABBOUD, *Relazioni*, t. I, p. 226-234 of the Arabic part; the text of this synod in CHARTOUNI, *op. cit.*, p. 18-38.

(421) French translation published in RISTELHUEBER, *op. cit.*, p. 280-281; Arabic original in 'ABBOUD, *Biography of the Patriarch*, append., p. 66-67.

(422) RISTELHUEBER, *op., cit.*, p. 284-285 and 330; 'ABBOUD, *Biography of the Patriarch*, p. 211-212.

(423) See an Arabic translation of these letters in the *Chronology of the Maronite Patriarchs*, edit. CHARTOUNI, p. 58-59.

(424) 'ABBOUD, *ibid.*, p. 17-18.

(425) P. 'ABBOUD, *Biography of the Patriarch*, append., p. 67-70; cf. p. 18-20.

(426) Letters, *Accepimus*, May 23, 1772, and *Acceptis*, same date, in *Jus pontific.*, t. VII, p. 206-208.

(427) P. 'ABBOUD, *Relazioni*, t. I, p. 199-205 of the Arabic part and t. II, p. 235-261.

(428) P. 'ABBOUD, *Biography of Hendiyah*, p. 156-158; cf. p. 11-13.

(429) 'ABBOUD, *Biography of Hendiyah*, p. 159-174, 178-187, 193, 299-313, 315-317, and append., p. 47-49; *Relazioni*, t. I, p. 303-306; t. II, p. 406 ff.; and 450-451.

(430) See his letter to the Prefect of Propaganda, in P. 'ABBOUD, *Relazioni*, t. II, p. 482-491.

(431) Account in 'ABBOUD, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 217-232.

(432) P. 'ABBOUD., *Relazioni*, t. II, p. 383-383; *Biography of the Patriarch*, p. 41; append., p. 75.

(433) Letter of Jos. Estephan to Pius VI, June 29, 1777, in P. 'ABBOUD, *Biography of the Patriarch*, p. 61-63; cf. p. 58; *Relazioni*, t. I, p. 217 ff. and 277 ff.

(434) P. 'ABBOUD, *Biography of the Patriarch*, p. 54.

(435) Cited by 'ABBOUD, *Biography of the Patriarch*, p. 53-54.

(436) See an account and divers letters of Patriarch Stephen to Louis XIV, to Cardinal de Bernis, to the Prefect of Propaganda; a letter of the Melkite Catholic Patriarch to Propaganda, July 20, 1782; a letter of the Khazen to the king of France in P. 'ABBOUD, *Relazioni*, t. II, p. 344-394, 496-499, and in the Arabic part, p. 390-395; *Biography of the Patriarch*, p. 69-72, 128-134.

(437) Letter to the Prefect of Propaganda, November 10, 1780, in 'Abboud, *Relazioni*, t. II, p. 389.

(438) Letter to Propaganda, in 'Abboud, *Relazioni*, t. II, p. 514 ff.

(439) See the account of Cardinal Antonelli in 'Abboud, *Relazioni*, t. II, p. 592-593.

(40) See the report of the Superior of the Franciscan Monastry of Harissa in 'Abboud, *Biography of the Patriarch*, p. 53.

(441) Text in de Martinis, *Jus pontificium*, t. IV, p. 244.

(442) In 'Abboud, *Biography of Hendiyah*, p. 264-265. Cf. also divers letters of Estephan in 'Abboud, *Biography of the Patriarch*, p. 148-152; cf. also *ibid.*, p. 60, 61, 73, 78-80; *Relazioni*, t. II, p. 482-491, 503-539; cf. *ibid*, the account of Cardinal Antonelli, September 18, 1781, t. II, p. 401-402.

(443) Account of Cardinal Antonelli, September 18, 1781, in 'Abboud, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 398 and 401, 402; letter of Estephan to the prefect of Propaganda, June 11, 1790, *ibid.*, p. 425-426, Arabic part, p. 386-389.

(444) Decrees of Propaganda, June 25, 1779, confirmed by Pius VI, in *Jus pontific.*, t. IV, p. 243-244.

(444a) Letter of Cardinal Antonelli to the Patriarchal vicar and the account of the same in 'Abboud, *Relazioni*, t. II, p. 408-416, 450-452, 477, 540-546; *Biography of Hendiyah*, p. 299-313.

(445) P. 'Abboud, *Biography of Hendiyah*, p. 313-320; *Biographie du patriarche*, p. 141-142.

(446) Account of Cardinal Antonelli, in 'Abboud, *Relazioni*, t. II, p. 416; letters of the Patriarch to Propaganda, *ibid.*, p. 386-389 of the Arabic part; *Biographie du patriarche*, p. 128-134.

(447) Cf. P. 'Abboud, *Relazioni*, t. II, p. 417.

(448) Account of Cardinal Antonelli, *ibid.*, t. II, p. 419-423.

(449) Account of Cardinal Antonelli, *ibid.*, p. 424-427; cf. also p. 386-395 of the Arabic part; *Biographie du patriarche*, p. 76-79.

(450) Text of the Synod in 'Abboud, *Relazioni*, t. II, p. 397 ff. of the Arabic part; account of Cardinal Antoneli, *ibid.*, p. 430-431.

(451) In 'Abboud, *bibd.*, t. II, p. 432-433.

(452) See the letter of warning written to the bishops at the request of Pietro da Moretta, by the governor of the Mountain in 'Abboud, *op. cit.* t. II, p. 396 of the Arabic part.

(453) *Relazioni*, t. II, p. 435-437; see also *loc. cit.*, p. 344-386, 434-435.

(454) P. 462 ff.

(455) 'Abboud, *ibid.*, t. II, p. 443-444 of the Arabic part; *Biography of the Patriarch*, p. 125-127.

(456) Text in 'Abboud, *Relazioni*, t. II, p. 387-394; *Biography of the Patriarch*, p. 127-134.

(457) ANTONELLI, *ibid.*, t. II, p. 464 ff.

(458) See his letters to Propaganda and to Sheikh Sa'd el-Khoury in 'ABBOUD, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 509-510 and, Arabic Part, p. 450-456; the letter of the Melkite Patriarch, Theodosius VI Dahan, to Propaganda, July 30, 1782, *ibid.*, p. 465-469.

(459) *Ibid.*, p. 540-546.

(460) *Ibid.*, p. 464-466.

(461) 'ABBOUD, *Biography of the Patriarch*, p. 153.

(462) Letter of Estephan to Propaganda, April 2, 1782, in 'ABBOUD, *Relazioni*, t. II, p. 482-491.

(463) Text in 'ABBOUD, *op.* cit., t. II, p. 482-491.

(464) See a letter of the Melkite Patriarch, Theodosius VI Dahan, to the prefect of Propaganda, July 20, 1782, and another of Estephan, also to the prefect of Propaganda, March 29, 1784, in 'ABBOUD, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 465-469 and 473-474; *Biography of the Patriarch*, p. 153-156.

(465) Account of Cardinal Antonelli, September 21, 1784, in P. 'ABBOUD, *loc. cit.*, p. 567 ff.

(466) Account of Cardinal Antonelli, September 21, 1784, *ibid.*, p. 567-568.

(467) 'ABBOUD, *Relazioni*, t. II, p. 453-456 of the Arabic part; *Biography of the Patriarch*, p. 152-153.

(468) Letters of Sa'd el-Khoury and of the Melkite patriarch in *Relazioni*, t. II, p. 457 ff.; *Biography of the Patriarch*, p. 156 ff.

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(471) 'ABBOUD, *Biography of the Patriarch*, p. 178 ff.

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(474) See his letter in ANAISSI, *Collectio*, p. 154-156.

(475) Cf. the synod in 'ABBOUD, *ibid.*, p. 523.

(476) Synodal text in 'ABBOUD, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 537-603.

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(478) DEBS, *op. cit.*, t. VIII, p. 539.

(479) See the Synodal letters in ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 431-436.

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(482) See the correspondence exchanged between the two prelates in GHABRIEL, *op. cit.*, t. II *a*, p. 701-710.

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(487) In ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 470-474.

(488) See the two letters of Pius VII dated February 15, 1817, in ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 475-476.

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(490) Cf. DANDINI, *op. cit.*, p. 67-68, 75-76.

(491) See a letter of the three Maronite bishops, addressed to Rome, February 18, 1733, in *cod. vat. lat.* 7262. fol, 178 r° and v°.

(492) In 'ABBOUD, *Relazioni*, t. II, p. 577-580.

(493) Text in 'ABBOUD, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 493 ff.

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(495) The pieces relative to this question are in the *Bullarium pontificium* S. *Congregat. de prop. fide*, t. V, p. 1-11; ANAISSI, *Bull.*, p. 487-501.

(497) See the two briefs *Mango semper*, January 11, 1830, and *Etsi dubium*, July 14, 1832, in *Jus pontific.*, t. IV, p. 723; t. V, p. 47-48.

(497) P. DIB, *La liturgie maronite*, p. 89-104.

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(499) See DARIAN, *Précis historique des origines des maronites et de leur indépendance au Liban*, Cairo, 1916, p. 296-298.

(500) On Patriarch Hobaich, see DEBS, *History of Syria*, t. VIII, p. 749, 769; Ghabriel, *op. cit.*, p. 757-767; the P. Mansour EL-HATTOUNI, *op. cit.*, p. 253 ff., 309-312. We have also used an unpublished biography of Patriarch Hobaich, written by a priest contemporary.

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(502) GHABRIEL, *loc. cit.*, p. 786-787.

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(505) Cf. the brief *Gratae nobis*, June 2, 1856, in *Jus pontific.*, t. VIa, p. 256, and see *ibid.*, n. 1 which refers to page 232 of the same volume, n. 1; DEBS, *op. cit.*, t. VIII, p. 767-768.

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(509) BAUDICOUR, *loc. cit.*, p. 295-296.

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(512) Leo XIII, in the consistory of June 23, 1890, *ibid.*

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(522) On Hoyek, see P. Ibrahim HARFOUCHE, *Biography of Patriarch Hoyek* (in Arabic), Djounieh, 1935.

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(526) See CHEIHKO, *La nation maronite et la Compagnie de Jésus aux XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles*, Beyrouth, 1923, p. 37; DANDINI, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

(527) See a memorandum addressed by them on July 1, 1686 to the ambassador of France to Constantinople, in A. RABBATH, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 101.

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(531) *Ibid.*, p. 103.

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(533) *Le bouquet sacré*, Paris, 1620, p. 597-598.

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(536) *Ibid.*, p. 132-133.

(537) See DE LA ROQUE, *op. cit.*, t. II, Paris, 1722, p. 275-276, 279-280.

(538) Cited by ASSEMANI, *Bibl. juris*, t. I, p. XVII-XVIII.

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(574) III, IV, 20.

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(598) Synod, II, III, 3.

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(600) DANDINI, *op. cit.*, p. 82-83.

(601) See his *Remarques*, *ibid.*, p. 363.

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(603) II, XIV, 34.

(604) See the documents in the first pages of the ritual in question.

(605) See DE LA ROQUE, *Voyage de Syrie et du Mont-Liban*, t. I, Paris, 1722, p. 57-59.

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(613) See the account of QARAALI, *loc. cit.*, p. 182-195.

(614) Text of the brief in *Regulae et constitutiones monachorum syrorum maronitarum ordinis S. Antonii Abbbatis congregationis Montis Libani*, Rome, 1735, p. IV-VI, XI, 137. See also Raph. DE MARTINIS, *Jus pontificium*, t. II, p. 428-431; the constitutions are reproduced *ibid.*, t. V, p. 381-436.

(615) In DE MARTINIS, *Jus pontific.*, t. VII, p. 153-157.

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(617) Brief *Misericordiarum*, January 17, 1740. In DE MARTINIS, *Jus pontific.*, t. II, p. 516-517.

(618) Cf. the brief *Apostolatus officium* of March 31, 1732, in DE MARTINIS, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 429.

(619) See the letters *Supremum* of May 17, 1757; *Quanta quidem*, same date; *Quaecumque a te*, April 11, 1759; *Laudamus*, November 15, 1760, in DE MARTINIS, *Jus pontific.*, t. III, p. 686-689; t. IV, p. 27-28; ANAISSI, *Bull.* p. 375-383.

(620) In DE MARTINIS, *Jus pontific.*, t. IV, p. 164-167.

(621) *Annuario Pontificio*, 1916, p. 862.

(622) On the details of the actual situation of the Baladites, see the letter of January 10, 1962, addressed by the Superior General to the religious of the Order and printed in the same year at Beyrouth.

(623) *Op. cit.*, p. 263-264.

(624) Cf. Patriarch MAS'AD, *op. cit.*, p. 189; DEBS, *op. cit.*, t. VIII, p. 599; GHABRIEL, *ibid.*, t. II a, p. 713-714.

(625) See P. Gabriel NABA', *La juridiction sur les congrégations basiliennes melkites*, in the Review *Stoudion*, 1925, t. II, p. 16.

(626) See Clement Joseph DAVID, Syrian Archbishop of Damascus, *op. cit.*, p. 330, n. 1.

(627) The Brief *Monachorum instituta* of Gregory XVI, September 26, 1845, and the instruction of Propaganda of December 8, of the same year, in *Jus pontific.*, t. V, p. 356-357 and 381-383 note.

(628) S.-A. ASSEMANI, *Bibl. mediceae catal.*, p. 26.

(629) *Op. cit.*, edit. of 1646, p. 429. Cf. also HELYOT, *ibid.*, col. 893.

(630) HELYOT, *loc. cit.*, col. 894.

(631) *Ibid.*, p. 26.

(632) Synod of Lebanon, IV, III, 3.

(633) *Relazione dell'ablegazione*, p. 29.

(634) In DE MARTINIS, *Jus pontific.*, t. IV, p. 579.

(635) On these two monastaries, see a notice written by a Lazarist, in *al-Machriq*, 1901, t. IV, p. 704-710; J. DEBS, *op. cit.*, t. VIII, p. 596-597 and 786-787.

(636) *Constitutions et règles de la congrégation maronite de la Sainte-Famille*, Beyrouth, 1924, p. 6-7.

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Vat. syr. 215, 395, 396; *Vat. ar.* 683. Manuscripts 215 and 683 contain the *Annals* of Patriarch Stephen Douaihi. These *Annals* are found in two redactions. The one, more genaral, begins with the hegira (622) and ends with the year 1703, The other, more particular, includes the period from 1095 to 1699. Manuscripts 395 and 396 include the *Defense of the Maronite Nation* by Douaihi. This work is divided into three books. Rachid Chartouni has published the first two with extracts from the *Annals* in his *History of the Maronite Nation*, Beyrouth, 1890. But, this publication does not offer assurance of being scientific. We have preferred to use the manuscripts preserved at the Vatican.

Vat. syr. 29, 31, 48, 133, 300, 310, 312, 313, 399.

Vat, arab. 640.

Fonds syr. Borgia 56.

Vat. lat. 7258, 7261, 7262, 7401, 9552.

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AA. arm. I-XVIII, 1755.

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Ms. syr. 71, 116, 117, 118, 119, 203. Manuscript 203 contains the *Ten Chapters* of Thomas of Kaphartab.

Ms. arabe 169 and 1704. Manuscript 169 includes the theological treatises of Habib Abou-Raita; manuscript 1704 (end of the 13th century), the *History of the Sultan and King Victorious* (Qalaoun).

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